

The Berkshire Studies in European History

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Berkshire Studies in European History

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THE CRUSADES

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THE CRUSADES

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NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

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May, 1949

PRINTED IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

The college teacher of general European history is always confronted with the task of finding adequate reading for his classes which is neither too specialized and technical nor too elementary. For many topics, including several of the greatest importance, no such material is at the moment available. Moreover, in too many instances, good reading which undeniably does exist is in the form of a chapter in a larger work and is therefore too expensive for adoption as required reading under normal conditions.

The Berkshire Studies in European History have been planned to meet this situation. The topics selected for treatment are those on which there is no easily accessible reading of appropriate length adequate for the needs of a course in general European history. The authors, all experienced teachers, are in nearly every instance actively engaged in the class room and intimately acquainted with its problems. They will avoid a merely elementary presentation of facts, giving instead an interpretive discussion suited to the more mature point of view of college students.

No pretense is made, of course, that these *Studies* are contributions to historical literature in the scholarly sense. Each author, nevertheless, is sufficiently a specialist in the period of which he writes to be familiar with the sources and to have used the latest scholarly contributions to his subject. In order that those who desire to read further on any topic may have some guid-

ance short bibliographies of works in western European languages are given, with particular attention to books of recent date.

Each *Study* is designed as a week's reading. The division into three approximately equal chapters, many of them self-contained and each suitable for one day's assignment, should make the series as a whole easily adaptable to the present needs of college classes. The editors have attempted at every point to maintain and emphasize this fundamental flexibility.

Maps and diagrams will occasionally be furnished with the text when specially needed but a good historical atlas, such as that of Shepherd, is presupposed throughout.

R. A. N.
L. B. P.
S. R. P.

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THE CRUSADES

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM ON THE EVE OF THE CRUSADES

ONE of the distinctive features of the mediaeval epoch, distinguishing it sharply from other periods of European history, is the religious warfare of Christianity and Islam. In some respects this was merely a phase of the age-long contest between Europe and Asia, between the East and the West, but the religious rivalry which is peculiar to the Middle Ages gave at times an ardent energy to the struggle, which makes it different from the Greek wars against the Persians. Often enough on both sides incentives other than religious played their part, and religion frequently became merely the cloak for worldly ambitions; but there always remained for both antagonists some consciousness that the war was one between believer and infidel in which God would assist the faithful. The original fanaticism of Islam had given the Saracens an impetuosity which carried forward their conquests for more than a hundred years, but the early decades of the eighth century saw their advance checked, in both East and West, at a time when the Moslem state was beginning to suffer seriously from those disintegrating forces which, sooner or later, always seem to appear in Oriental military states. Christian Europe was relieved from the menace of Moslem conquest, but found itself confronted by a

warlike neighbor who continued to carry on intermittent religious war with varying fortunes at the points of contact. There were three areas in which the two hostile religions clashed: in Spain, where the Emirs and Caliphs of Cordova ruled most of the peninsula; in the Mediterranean islands, which the North African Moslems conquered, and from which they dominated the sea and harassed the coasts of France and Italy; and the Levant, where from Cyprus and Crete Saracen pirates plundered the Aegean islands and the shores of Greece, while a continuous frontier war was carried on from Mesopotamia and Syria against the Byzantine provinces in Asia Minor.

DISUNITY AND ANTAGONISM IN ISLAM

The abatement of large scale Moslem attack upon Christian Europe was due more to Moslem political weakness than to European strength. In religious affairs the Moslem world was split into Sunnite and Shiite sects, each regarding the other with intense hostility. In the East the Abbassid Caliph of Bagdad was Sunnite, but large numbers of his subjects in Persia were Shiite. Furthermore, in the course of the ninth century this religious difference took on political form when a Shiite dynasty, the Fatimites, established itself successfully first in Tunis and later in Egypt, setting up a rival Shiite Caliph at Cairo. Since earliest historical times Egypt and Mesopotamia have struggled to control Syria, and the fervor of the holy war against the Christians was now somewhat mitigated in the

fierce contention of rival Moslem creeds, and of Cairo against Bagdad. Even before the rise of the Fatimites, Islam had split politically into adherents of the rival dynasties, the Omayyads and the Abbassids. In 750 the latter captured the Caliphate in the East, but an Omayyad fugitive in Spain secured the recognition of western Islam, breaking the Moslem empire in half. In the West the lines of cleavage were between Arab and Berber, the former, the original leaders, disposed to assume a position of lordship and to cultivate a refined and luxurious culture, the latter, the rank and file of western Islam, resentful of Arab arrogance, fanatical, puritanical, and warlike. The Arab rulers of Spain were quite as much concerned with conditions in North Africa as they were with the Christians in the northern mountains. The Spanish Moslems were Sunnites, so the founding of the Fatimite power in Tunis was a distraction, a possible threat to their position not to be disregarded.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AS A MILITARY POWER

Of the Christian powers the strongest and most persistent champion against militant Islam was the Byzantine Empire. The first shock of Moslem conquest had robbed the Emperors of vast territories in Syria and Africa. The most energetic of the Caliphs had dreamed of storming Constantinople, and twice huge hosts had besieged the Christian capital. Small wonder that among the Byzantines the Saracens were regarded as the Empire's most formidable foe. In comparison with

the rest of Europe in the Carolingian and feudal periods the Eastern Empire was the only efficient military state. Its military traditions were inherited from the victorious armies of imperial and republican Rome, giving the Byzantine soldier that professional pride which is so important for morale. The Byzantine army was a highly organized group of permanent units, well disciplined, and better armed than any contemporary force. Recruiting was systematic, some of the best soldiers being drawn from the hardy peasantry of Asia Minor. The soldiers swore allegiance directly to the emperor, and all the officers were appointed by the imperial government. The military art was a subject of careful study, both as to theory and practice, and certain of the Emperors themselves wrote practical handbooks on war, describing the peculiar fighting qualities of their various enemies, and prescribing the most effective ways for meeting each. The disastrous defeats suffered at the hands of the Saracens in the seventh century were due, in considerable part, to the overwhelming numbers and the fanatical enthusiasm of the Moslems, and to the genius of their military leaders, rather than to the weakness of the Byzantine military system. The real weakness of such a highly developed professional army is its cost and the impossibility of replacing it quickly in case of annihilating defeat.

The Moslem victories of the seventh century had put the Eastern Empire on the defensive. Its provincial administration was reorganized upon a military basis, the old imperial subdivision of diocese and province being replaced by military districts called themes. In

each of these regiments and divisions were permanently established, and their commander, in addition to his military duties, acted as civil governor of the district. After 718 there was no further danger of Saracen conquest, but the Moslems continued to make great plundering raids into Byzantine territory, which it was the business of the Christian commanders to prevent or defeat. Consequently the greater part of the Byzantine forces in Asia Minor consisted of heavy cavalry which could be rapidly mobilized against the enemy raiders, and which was superior, man for man, to the more lightly armed Saracens. Since the Christians dared not risk an offensive, their strategy also was mainly defensive. There was no chivalrous sentiment at Byzantine headquarters. Only barbarians enjoyed fighting for its own sake. War for the imperial generals was merely a means to an end. If the objective could be gained without fighting, so much the better. So, while not lacking in courage, the Greeks studied how best to gain their ends through stratagem, ambush, fraud, and maneuver, calculating the weaknesses of their enemies and taking every advantage of them. By thus pitting skill and efficient organization against the greater numbers of their opponents they were able to hold their own successfully with comparative ease.

THE BYZANTINE CRUSADE OF THE TENTH CENTURY

In the tenth century, however, the Empire found itself in a position to do more than merely defend its southern frontiers. In that period the autocracy of the

Emperor reached its zenith, so that his control over the resources of the Empire became more complete than before. This coincided with the rule of a single dynasty, the Macedonian, which held the throne for nearly a century, thus eliminating for that period some of the intermittent struggle for the throne which so often exhausted in civil war the energies of the state. In consequence the Empire was able to repell and subdue the Bulgars and Russians who had menaced its safety from the north. The first of the Macedonian line could reassert Byzantine rule in southern Italy after the Moslems from Sicily were expelled from Bari, and his successors were able to turn their attention towards the recovery from the Saracens of the lost provinces in Asia.

The opportunity for this was to be found in the decline of the Bagdad Caliphate. The sons of Haroun-ar-Raschid had quarrelled among themselves for the succession to their father's throne, and the last of them, to assure more completely his control of a turbulent capital, had surrounded himself with a large Turkish guard. However successful these foreign mercenaries may have been in overawing Bagdad, they soon discovered that they could control the Caliph himself. In the course of the ninth century the head of Islam became the puppet of his own guardsmen. The latter cared nothing for the welfare of the empire. The emirs, who governed the Moslem provinces in the Caliph's name, despised and ignored the authority of the Turkish mercenaries, and seized the occasion to advance their own local interests and to enjoy practical independence. In appearance the Caliphate of Bagdad continued to em-

brace western Asia. In fact it had disintegrated into a group of military principalities, whose rulers warred with each other more than with the Christians. On the Byzantine frontier the emirs had only their own provincial resources for war against the Eastern Empire, and this, with their hostility to each other, gave the Romans their opportunity. Without increased resources of their own they could now hope to launch a successful offensive.

For twelve years in the latter half of the tenth century, under the leadership of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces, the holy war against the infidels was victoriously waged. These men came from the landed aristocracy of Asia Minor, the region most exposed to Saracen attack. Their military training was gained in command of the themes on the Moslem border. By marriage with a widowed Empress of the Macedonian house they secured the imperial throne without subjecting the state to the dangers of civil war. From 961 until 975, despite renewed difficulties with the Bulgars, in a succession of naval and military campaigns they recovered Crete and Cyprus, crossed the Taurus into Cilicia and Syria, besieged and captured Antioch and Edessa, reduced Aleppo to vassalage, marched triumphantly through Syria receiving the submission of Damascus, invaded Mesopotamia and even threatened Bagdad. Not since Heraclius conquered the Persians just before the rise of Islam had Roman arms been so successful, and the imperial city could again celebrate a triumph. The Byzantines had recovered control of the Aegean, and could hope still further to extend their

territory in Asia. In southern Syria they encountered the formidable opposition of the Fatimite Caliph of Cairo which prevented the taking of Jerusalem. In the following century, however, the later Macedonian Emperors were able to extend a sort of protectorate over the Holy Places, but when they attempted to regain Sicily as they had regained Crete they failed. These events do not seem to have attracted any great attention from the Christians of western Europe, but they serve, in part, to explain the Byzantine attitude towards the crusaders. Not only were the provinces of western Asia ancient possessions of the Roman Empire, but they had been, to a considerable extent, already recovered from the Moslems and held until shortly before the First Crusade.

THE CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA AND THE SPANISH CRUSADE

In the West the period of the Byzantine revival was the zenith of greatness for the Caliphate of Cordova. The ablest of the western Caliphs, Abd-ar-Rahman III, died in 961, after a reign of nearly half a century, during which he had established a successful despotism, such as was necessary to hold together the turbulent and factious elements of Moslem Spain. His work was well continued by his grandson's minister Almanzor, who was the actual ruler of the realm during the last part of the tenth century. Under his energetic rule the Moslems dominated the Christian states of the north, Leon, Castile, and Navarre. The latter were often torn with civil war, quarrelled with each other,

and the defeated parties among the Christians seldom refrained from turning for refuge or assistance to the Moorish capital. In the course of intervening in the affairs of the northern states, Almanzor, at one time or another, captured Leon, took Barcelona by storm, and even sacked the shrine of Santiago de Compostella, the center of Spanish Christendom, carrying off the bells to be used as braziers in the mosque at Cordova. He seems, however, to have been content to chastise the northern kingdoms without attempting to conquer them. Following his death in 1002 the Moslem power collapsed with as great rapidity as it had grown. The Ommayyad Caliphs at Cordova were nonentities, tools in the hands of Almanzor's sons, like their Abbassid rivals in Bagdad. Those sons struggled with each other and with the other Spanish emirs to control the state. The Moslem belief that the Caliph must be of the tribe of Mahomet prevented Almanzor's successors from seizing the Caliphate itself, and when the Ommayyad family died out in 1031 the western Caliphate was abolished. Each local emir became free then to set up for himself, and the Moorish empire in Spain broke up into numerous principalities. This ended Moslem military superiority over the Christians, and gave to the latter their chance to recover the peninsula, an opportunity which, in the course of the eleventh century, they began to use.

The decline of the Cordovan state coincided with the discovery by French feudal adventurers that Spain was a profitable field for their energies, and also with the introduction of the Cluniac Reform into the Christian

kingdoms. Beginning with an expedition in 1015 there were a series of warlike enterprises led by the barons of Burgundy and southern France against the Spanish Moslems. Some of these leaders carved out principalities for themselves, others became mercenary captains serving either Moslem or Christian rulers in the local wars of the peninsula. The interest of the Abbots of Cluny in Christian Spain stimulated pilgrimages from France to the shrine of Santiago. Cluniac priories along the roads to the south provided hospitality for the pilgrims. For the Cluniacs Spain was an out-post against the infidel and their influence may well have given to the exploits of adventurers some of the character of a holy war. What made this military and religious movement from France into Spain important was the fact that it was contemporaneous with the first effective union of the Christian states south of the Pyrenees.

Shortly after the middle of the eleventh century Ferdinand I, King of Castile and Leon, by reducing to vassalage the King of Navarre, his brother, brought the Christian states, for the moment, under a single leader. This gave him the occasion and the resources to avail himself of the Moslem weakness. Instead of conducting mere plundering raids, he undertook to reduce the Moorish emirs to the position of tributaries, and to annex border territories to his kingdom. His objective was the city of Toledo, the ancient Visigothic capital, second only to Cordova among the Moorish cities. This ambition Ferdinand did not achieve, but he launched that series of campaigns from which the re-

conquest of the peninsula dates. It must be noted, however, that these expeditions, primarily political, were religious only in a secondary sense. They were not marked by that implacable hatred which is supposed to characterize a holy war. The Moslem emirs also were no longer imbued with the early vigor of their religion. Their mutual rivalries were quite as strong as their enmity for the Christians, and Ferdinand and his successors often intervened as the ally of one emir against another. Only when the Christian success threatened to become continuous did the Moslem leaders realize that they must be re-enforced by their co-religionists.

The Christian advance halted on the death of Ferdinand in 1065 while his three sons among whom he divided his realm fought with each other to reunite the state. Through the fortunate assassination of one brother, and the treacherous seizure of the other, Alphonso VI was able by 1072 to resume the war against Islam. His wife, a daughter of Count Robert of Burgundy, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Cluniacs, so the bonds between Christian Spain, the Burgundian adventurers, and the religious reformers were more closely drawn. Alphonso resumed his father's plan to capture Toledo, and turned to the Burgundian barons for additional aid. Even Pope Gregory VII encouraged certain of the latter to make expeditions into Spain. Castilian policy was still one of intervention in the Moslem wars, of assisting the emirs against each other, and in this Alphonso was eminently successful. In 1082, after besieging Seville without result, he marched

in triumph to the very mouth of the Guadalquivir, where he proudly rode his horse into the sea exclaiming, "This is the boundary of Spain and I have touched it." At the same time he pushed his plans against Toledo by annually devastating the district around the city, and by continually harrying the place from neighboring strongholds. In this way the difficulties of a siege were avoided, and after four years the exhausted citizens submitted. On May 25, 1085, the Christian King entered Toledo as a conqueror. The Moslems were assured the toleration of their religion, and the continued use of the chief mosque. But two years later one of the queen's Cluniac churchmen became archbishop of the city and demonstrated his religious zeal by occupying the mosque and consecrating it as a church. The Moslems had to be content with assurances that they would not have to endure further encroachments upon their religion.

CHRISTIAN RECOVERY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN ISLANDS

In the central Mediterranean lands the Moslem attack had never seriously threatened any conquest on the mainland, but incessant piracy and almost continuous raiding contributed largely to the confusion which prevailed in Italy during the ninth and tenth centuries. The struggle for the island of Sicily was one between the Byzantines and the Saracens in which the latter were ultimately successful. But the Eastern Emperors, with occasional assistance from their western rivals, were able to preserve a precarious position in southern

Italy, and to cherish the hope of recovering Sicily. It was, however, the activities of two new powers which gave fresh vigor, in the eleventh century, to the war against the infidel. These were the rising city states, such as Genoa and Pisa, and the Norman adventurers.

Like other parts of the Italian coast Genoa and Pisa suffered from attack by corsairs from Sicily and Sardinia. Genoa had been pillaged in 935. Part of Pisa was sacked in 1004, and another Moslem attack was beaten off in 1011. Rome also was threatened by the nearness of the common enemy, for the Emir of Sicily in 982 had led an expedition onto the mainland in a *jihad* against "that dotard Peter." The Pope is said in 1004 to have preached a holy war against the Saracens, promising the island of Sardinia to any Christian power which would conquer it. Eleven years later the Pisans and Genoese entered into an alliance to recover the island for the cross. Several victorious expeditions were launched, but the Moslems were persistent, and the allies quarrelsome, so that not until 1050 was the conquest complete. This war against piratical raiders soon developed into a much more extensive struggle, a war of retaliation upon the Moslem lands themselves. In 1034 the Pisans raided the coast of Africa. In 1062 they made an unsuccessful but not unprofitable attack on Palermo, the capital of Sicily. But the most important effort against the African pirates came in 1087 when the two city republics, assisted by the Pope, sent a fleet of several hundred ships to attack the Moslem capital in Tunis. This expedition was highly successful. The defeated Moslems agreed to pay an indem-

nity, to release their Christian captives, and to admit free of duty all goods imported in Pisan and Genoese ships. The last arrangement will indicate at once that the contest was not solely a religious war. The Italian cities wanted first to protect their own coasts, and then to extend their trade. The Moslems, who undoubtedly used religion as the justification, if they needed one, for their raids on Italy, happened to be the antagonists which History and Geography placed opposite the Pisans and Genoese.

Meanwhile a revolution had taken place in southern Italy. Byzantine rule was an unpopular foreign domination weak enough to invite revolt at Bari in 1009. The local Italian leader while looking for recruits to carry on the insurrection encountered certain Norman pilgrims at a nearby shrine of St. Michael. These he employed and through them it became known in Normandy that southern Italy was a profitable field for military adventurers. So thither went younger sons and impecunious knights to seek their fortunes. The history of the struggle against the Byzantine governors, or the quarrels of local lords with each other, is confused and unimportant. Suffice that by 1060 two Norman leaders with bands of free-booting adventurers behind them, by a policy of ruthless, unscrupulous self-seeking, have set themselves up as rulers, the one, Richard, as Prince of Capua, and the other, Robert Guiscard, as Duke of Apulia and Calabria. The Papacy, at first hostile, has recognized them, confirmed their conquests, and received their homage. The Byzantines have been almost expelled from the peninsula.

The conquest of Sicily has been planned, and in that connection the Normans become part of the Christian war against Islam.

The opportunity for such conquest had already been demonstrated. In 1038 the Byzantines launched a great expedition against Sicily. Norman mercenaries from southern Italy, including two brothers of Robert Guiscard, served in the imperial army. The Moslem power was twice overthrown in battle and might have been permanently destroyed had not that court intrigue, so common in Byzantine politics, interfered. The victorious general was recalled, and the Saracens recovered their lost ground. Twenty-two years later the Normans undertook the project on their own account. The Moslems were at odds among themselves. Three emirs divided the island and quarrelled with each other. It was at the invitation of one of these that the Normans first intervened. The Sicilian Moslems were afraid of any great assistance from their co-religionists in North Africa, and the latter were prevented from taking effective action in Sicily by the fact that they were at war with the Caliph of Cairo, whose Shiite beliefs they refused longer to entertain. The Christian population, although not maltreated by their Saracen rulers, was disposed to welcome a Christian conqueror as a deliverer. A flourishing civilization, comparable to that of Moslem Spain, made Sicily an attractive field for conquest to the greedy and warlike Normans.

Under the leadership of Robert Guiscard's youngest brother, Roger, an attack was made on Messina in

1060, which inaugurated thirty years of Norman conquest in the island. The numbers employed by the Christians seem to have been small, and the war was often interrupted by more pressing events on the Italian mainland, facts which explain why the conquest was so slow. Not until 1071 could all the resources of Roger and Robert be concentrated against Palermo, which was stormed after a six months siege. The terms granted the conquered show how little the Normans were actuated by religious fanaticism. The Moslems could practise their religion freely, and enjoy the use of their own laws administered by their own judges. Roger was invested by his brother with the county of Sicily and continued the war for twenty years longer. The fall of Syracuse in 1086 ended all serious resistance, and by 1091 all Sicily was subjected and Malta occupied. The central Mediterranean was no longer dominated by Moslem pirates. North Africa in its turn was threatened by a warlike and ambitious Christian state.

NORMAN AND PAPAL POLICY IN REGARD TO THE
BYZANTINE EMPIRE

It was not, however, only against infidels that the Normans were disposed to wage wars of conquest. While Roger was gaining Sicily Robert Guiscard was capturing the last Byzantine cities in Italy. In order to take Bari and Palermo the Normans had been forced to build a fleet, and in so doing became a naval as well as a military power. Southern Italy and Sicily mastered, the Normans would be looking for new terri-

tories to conquer. To the north were the states of the Church, an easy prey to a sufficiently unscrupulous leader, so it is small wonder that even the boldest of the Popes were afraid of their Norman vassals and allies. The other neighbor at whose expense Robert Guiscard might hope to expand was the Byzantine Empire on the opposite shores of the Straits of Otranto. The Macedonian dynasty had died out and the princely families at Constantinople were competing for the succession. Indeed, at one time in the course of the struggle certain Norman mercenary leaders in the Byzantine army seemed to have a chance to occupy the imperial throne. The Normans in Italy had a poor opinion of the Byzantines as fighting men, and the invasion of the Balkan peninsula seemed merely an easy continuation of the conquest of southern Italy. Furthermore the example of Duke William's rapid conquest of England was before the eyes of his southern compatriots. Constantinople was well aware of the dangerous ambitions of the state to the west, but the only means of defense at the moment was the encouragement of insurrection in Italy against Robert, and the providing of refuge for rebels from his dominions. This served to delay him, but at the same time determined him to secure peace in his own lands by destroying the supporter of his rebellious subjects. The political difficulties of the Eastern Emperors and the pressure of the Turks on their Asiatic frontiers gave him his opportunity, and it may well be that the Popes favored a Norman advance eastward, both as a diversion and as part of papal policy in regard to the Greek Church.

In 1054 the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople had mutually excommunicated each other, so that a schism existed between the eastern and western branches of the Church. Looking back we can now see that this was a decisive break never to be effectively mended, but it did not so appear to men of the eleventh century. There had been repeated schisms between Rome and Constantinople since the days of the Arian controversy in the fourth century, and they had always been healed without seriously impairing the unity of the Church or the leadership of the Pope. It is true that since the days of Constantine there had been a fundamental cultural difference between the East and West which was accentuated by the Teutonic conquest of the West. The Greeks, with reason, regarded the Latins as barbarians, ignorant of the language of the Gospels and the Church Fathers. But the pre-eminence in the Church of the Bishop of Rome was recognized by Emperors and Patriarchs. Since the ninth century, however, there had formed at Constantinople an anti-Roman party among the Greek clergy, disposed to oppose the Papacy's claims to primacy, to regard certain western practices and beliefs as heretical, to denounce the Latins as "forerunners of apostasy, servants of Antichrist, who deserve a thousand deaths, liars, fighters against God," and to foment schism. This disposition towards schism was increased among the Greeks during the tenth and eleventh centuries by the fact that the moral and political prestige of the Papacy became scandalously low, while the Eastern Church was enjoying a considerable revival, due,

in part, to the reinvigoration of the Eastern Empire by the Macedonian dynasty. The knowledge that the Popes were the creatures of upstart Senators or of notorious women served to increase the contempt cherished by the anti-Roman clergy at Constantinople, and to encourage new efforts to gain ecclesiastical independence. These efforts culminated when Michael Caerularius became Patriarch in 1043. He was a vigorous, ambitious, and domineering churchman who forced the issue of Roman jurisdiction to the fore, overawed an unwilling Emperor, defied the papal authority, and brought about the exchange of anathemas in 1054. It is significant, however, that the Papacy at that date was no longer the poor thing it had been. The German Emperors and the Cluniac reformers had recently succeeded in raising the Pope again to the position of real head of western Christendom. Leo IX and his successors had an high ideal regarding the mission of the Roman see in the Church. They were prepared to assert all the papal claims to primacy and to enforce their assertion with whatever means might be at hand. If necessary they were ready to heal the schism by force. Gregory VII in 1074 seems to have entertained the idea of leading in person a Latin army eastward to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches. In this respect there was a common interest between the Papacy and the Normans in regard to an attack on the Byzantine Empire, and the hope of restoring ecclesiastical unity probably entered into the crusading plans of the Popes.

CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

It would appear, therefore, that already in the course of the eleventh century certain parts of Christendom had started successful offensives against the infidel, and that the Popes and the Norman princes were turning their attention eastward, for one reason or another. It remains to note some of the elements in the European situation which help to explain the popular response to the crusading idea. It should be remembered that the practice of pilgrimage is common to many religions and that Christians as well as pagans indulged in it in the days of the Roman Empire. To honor God by visiting places hallowed in religious history is a very ancient notion. Such visiting was an act of piety, and prayers offered at such places were presumably more efficacious. This idea was often associated with that of miraculous healing, and in an age when disease was regarded as a punishment for sin, the therapeutic value of prayers was important. If God showed a disposition to manifest his power more readily in one place than another, the places so distinguished naturally attracted worshippers from afar. Early in the history of the Church the places associated with the life of Christ, or with the lives of apostles, saints, and martyrs, were reputed to be of special sanctity. It seemed as if the great powers which those persons exercised while living, somehow miraculously clung to the places where they had lived, to their physical remains, or to any object associated with them. The cult of relics is the natural consequence of such conceptions and played a

large part in mediaeval popular religion. The collection of relics became a matter of increasing importance, particularly in western Europe where none of the events related in Scriptural story took place. It was necessary, for instance, to explain by miraculous legend the presence at Compostella of the body of St. James the Greater.

As important as the cult of relics for the increase in pilgrimages were the mediaeval developments connected with the performance of penance. The forgiveness of sins is even more important for the individual than bodily healing. The performance of penitential acts was a commonly recognized part of mediaeval religious practice. The more difficult the act the greater the merit, and in a day when travel was hard and dangerous, a long journey, bare-footed, and begging one's way was an act of real penance. Prayers for forgiveness offered at some saint's favorite shrine would more probably gain his intercession with God for the sinner, particularly if the latter had endured hardships in reaching the shrine. Miracles of forgiveness, such as the budding of Tannhäuser's pilgrim staff, fill the pious legends, along with those of healing. In this connection may be observed the logical practice of sending criminals upon pilgrimage, whereby they atoned for their wickedness and secured divine pardon, while the community enjoyed their absence. Even for the relatively righteous, salvation and spiritual benefit could be expected from viewing some wonder-working relic, and if a souvenir of the holy place could be taken home some of the miraculous sanctity of the shrine might

come with it. An eleventh century development of the penitential use of pilgrimage is the indulgence. This was originally a remission to the sinner of part of the penance imposed upon him if he visited some special place, a shrine or a specified church. Places with such a privilege naturally found themselves popular resorts for pilgrims, and other shrines would desire a similar privilege. Other encouragement to pilgrimage was the protection and hospitality offered by the Church to those going on pious journey. Hospices, like that in the St. Bernard pass, were founded along the more popular routes. Merchants and others who had to travel at a time when all roads were dangerous found the garb of a pilgrim useful. Then, too, when a pilgrim returned he enjoyed the admiration of his neighbors, and was, by custom, entitled to wear some symbol to advertise his journey, a cross of palm leaves if he came from Jerusalem (hence the name "palmer"), a cockle-shell if he had visited the shrine of Santiago in Spain.

The three most popular objectives for pilgrims were Compostella, Rome, and Jerusalem, and of these, the last, as a matter of course, was the most important, because of its associations and its distance. The pious interest of the West in the Holy Land goes back to Roman times. Occasionally since then the Pope and the Westerners had had appeals for money to restore the churches in Jerusalem. Charlemagne was in touch with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, received from him at one time the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, sent money, and built a hospice in the Holy City for the entertainment of pilgrims. Later generations ascribed to him the rôle of special protector of the Holy Places, and

even told tales of his own pilgrimage thither. The really active interest of the Latins in Palestine seems to begin with the early eleventh century. King Stephen of Hungary, converted to Christianity with his people in 1000 "made the way very safe for all and thus by his benevolence allowed a countless multitude both of noble and common people to start for Jerusalem." The Byzantine victories in Syria enabled the Eastern Emperors to assume a quasi-guardianship over the Christians in the Holy Land, which was subject to the Caliph of Cairo, and this position was confirmed by treaty in 1027. In the West there appears a reinvigorated piety which may be ascribed to the spread throughout the Church of the spirit of the Cluniac Reform. Instead of small groups of poor travellers, pilgrims went in considerable bands, armed for protection, and led by counts and bishops. The Count of Anjou made such an expedition as early as 1011, and, in order to expiate his numerous crimes, made two subsequent ones in the course of his career. According to current report on one of these occasions he was permitted to pray at the Holy Sepulchre only after promising to insult the cross. This act he avoided by stratagem, and as he knelt in prayer he bit off with his "iron teeth" a piece of the holy rock which he brought home as a relic. The Count of Flanders and two of the Dukes of Normandy made similar journeys. The largest pilgrim band of which there is record, numbering seven thousand or more, a real army according to mediaeval standards, set out in 1064 from Bamberg. Obviously the popular movement eastward was already of considerable proportions a generation before the First Crusade.

MOSLEM REVIVAL IN THE EAST, THE SELJUK TURKS

It was at this moment that Islam, in both East and West, enjoyed a religious, political, and military reinvigoration which made possible new resistance to Christian pressure, and accomplished a sufficient reconquest of lost territory to stimulate Christian Europe to still greater exertions. This revival of strength in the East had no connection in its origins with the struggle against the Byzantines, but resulted rather from the domestic politics of the Caliphs at Bagdad. We have already noted how the latter had been drawing mercenary Turkish soldiers from Central Asia. One result of this recruiting had been the conversion of the Turks to Islam in the tenth century, and since the Abbassid Caliphs were Sunnites, these new converts accepted the creed of that Moslem sect. Unlike the Persians and Arabs the Turks had no interest in the speculation and religious disputing which served to divide the Moslems. Their interests and habits were warlike, by nature they were loyal and disciplined. They accepted the beliefs of their employer, willing to fight against his enemies, political or religious, Christian or Shiite Moslem, without concern for theological differences. Their natural aptitude for battle gave new vigor to the holy war. Individual chieftains with their warrior bands were sent to the Byzantine frontier in effective numbers as early as 1048, and were left there to conquer principalities for themselves at the expense of the Empire. This connection of the Turks with the Caliphs tended to deflect the migration of nomadic peoples from Central Asia. For

centuries their movement had been directed north of the Caspian Sea into the Russian steppes; from now on it turned southwestward as well into western Asia with most momentous results.

The political phase of this began when a Turkish tribe, taking its name from its leader Seljuk, appeared on the banks of the Oxus early in the eleventh century. Under Seljuk's son, Togrul Beg, these Turks received permission to seek better pasturage across the river. Admitted thus into western Asia, Togrul Beg seized the occasion to conquer an empire. In twenty years (1031-1051) of warfare he made himself master of most of Persia and proclaimed himself Sultan. This astounding success attracted the attention of the Caliph at Bagdad. The latter, at the moment, was controlled by certain Persian princes who, though Shiites, preferred to show outward respect for the Sunnite Caliph and through him to direct the orthodox Moslem state. Against these heretics, and against the palace factions which always existed at Bagdad, the Caliph invited Togrul Beg and his Turks to intervene. There was no effective opposition to the conqueror. In December 1055 he entered Bagdad and assumed a protectorate over the Caliph. Two years later the latter appointed the Turk, "King of the East and West, Commander of the Faithful," and delegated to him the temporal rule over the Caliphate. This brought to an end the anarchy which had paralyzed the Moslem state for more than two centuries. Master of all the territory from the Euphrates to the Oxus, and a conqueror by nature and habit, the Seljuk Sultan turned his attention westward

towards Armenia for further conquest. He died before this could be accomplished, but his nephew and successor Alp Arslan ("the Bold Lion," 1063-1072) continued the advance. This brought on a clash with the Byzantines.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND ITS ENEMIES

Hitherto the Turks on the imperial frontiers had been troublesome raiders rather than conquerors. They were formidable because of their numbers, which made it impossible to prevent their incursions, and on occasion they had penetrated into the heart of Asia Minor. Now under Alp Arslan their attack took the form of a large scale invasion such as the empire had not faced for more than three centuries. The Macedonian dynasty had first degenerated and then disappeared, so that the imperial throne was again the object of contention among the Byzantine generals and nobles, and imperial policy was weakened and distracted by the intrigue, jealousy, and treachery of ambitious rivals. The Emperor Romanus Diogenes (1068-1072), who confronted the Turkish invader, was a general of more energy than judgment. He owed his position to his marriage with an imperial widow. Such a position was very uncertain in Byzantine politics, but Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces had justified themselves in like circumstances by brilliant campaigns against the Moslems. The Seljuk attacks on Armenia and Asia Minor seemed to offer Romanus a like occasion, indeed they imposed upon him the necessity of imitating his

predecessors. Three years of effort culminated in the spring of 1071 when the greater part of the Roman military power was mobilized for the recovery of the lost parts of Armenia. The Byzantine army met Alp Arslan at Manzikert, and through a combination of rashness and treachery sustained an overwhelming defeat. The Christian forces were cut to pieces. The Emperor was taken prisoner.

The battle of Manzikert is one of the decisive battles in the history of the Levant. It opened the way for an ethnological as well as a political revolution in Asia Minor. It dealt the East Roman Empire a blow from which it never fully recovered. It helped to bring on the crusades. On the morrow of victory Alp Arslan could have marched unopposed to the Bosphorus. Had he done so the Empire might have fallen, or, as on former occasions, in the desperation of a crisis, it might have risen above the strife of factions under the lead of another Leo the Isaurian. The Turkish Sultan, however, had troubles in Central Asia at the other end of his dominions, which demanded his attention, and in settling them he was killed. His withdrawal relieved the Byzantines of immediate danger, but the captivity of the Emperor led to political chaos. Ten years of civil war followed in which the contenders for the imperial throne succeeded in destroying such parts of the military system as had survived the disaster of 1071. It is in this period that the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor took place, not in one great expedition, but piece-meal. The new Sultan, Malik Shah, the patron of Omar Khayyam, was more the cultured, magnificent oriental

prince like Haroun-ar-Raschid, than his two predecessors. He left it to his lieutenants to occupy Anatolia and Syria where resistance, if there was any, was only local. Indeed the Byzantine contenders willingly turned to the Turks for help against each other, surrendering provinces to them in return for military aid. The real resistance to the Turkish advance came from the Fatimites of Egypt who held southern Syria. But in 1076 the Turks captured Jerusalem from the Egyptians. In 1078 Malik Shah's brother possessed himself of Damascus, and soon afterwards his cousin occupied Nicaea near the Bosphorus, proclaiming himself Sultan of Roum (*i.e.* Rome). Seven years later the last remnant of Roman rule in Syria disappeared with the Turkish conquest of Antioch.

More important for Asia Minor than this political conquest was the immigration which followed it. The Turkish rule was not, in itself, unduly harsh. Some of the Christian heretics in Anatolia found it preferable to that of the orthodox emperors. The Orthodox Church and the Nestorian Christians continued to exist, not without privileges. But the Turkish conquest opened up Asia Minor to the pastoral nomadic tribes of Central Asia, called by the Greeks Turkomans, and distinguished from the Seljuk warriors. No doubt the Byzantine civil war was devastating enough, but the influx of a barbarous nomadic population would serve to intensify the destruction. These shepherds and herdsmen were unruly and dangerous, so that roads became unsafe for merchants and the trade upon which city life depends declined. Their interest was in

plunder and pasturage, and as they spread over the land agriculture also declined, the soil began to pass out of cultivation, the cities became isolated from each other and found their economic existence threatened. People eventually moved out into villages where they could make a living from the land, and the population began to decline. The region which had been a flourishing part of some European state since the days of Alexander became economically and in population a part of Asia, and so it still remains.

Meanwhile at Constantinople the 'decade of chaos' was brought at last to an end in 1081 by the usurpation of Alexius Comnenus, a man vigorous enough and clever enough to control the state, and to direct the forces of the Empire with some success against surrounding foes. But it is important to note that he no longer had available the old imperial military machine. The well disciplined, highly organized army had been destroyed at Manzikert, and its remnants dispersed during the subsequent civil war. The organization by themes had broken down and disappeared. The Turkish occupation of Asia Minor cut off the most important recruiting ground from which the losses of Manzikert might have been made good. It was necessary for the new Emperor to enlist foreign mercenaries for the greater part of his army, and for these he must turn to northern and western Europe. It is significant, too, that at the beginning of his reign the greatest menace to the Empire was not from the Turks but from the Normans.

By 1080 Robert Guiscard was free to attempt the

conquest of the East to which his ambition prompted him. In the two following years he and his son Boemund defeated Alexius, captured Durazzo, and pushed eastward toward Constantinople. For four years they carried on campaigns in the Balkan peninsula, and their failure was due, not to Byzantine resistance, but to Guiscard's death in 1085. It was from the imperial necessities of this war that the trade privileges in the East enjoyed by the Venetians date, for, as the price of their alliance against the Normans, they received in 1082 control of a quarter in Constantinople with commercial rights vastly superior to those of any other Italian city. The Emperor had to have their naval help, and feared that their ships might be turned against him. The continuance and extension of their privileges in later years were based, consequently, on this dangerous combination of need and fear. The Greeks and the other Italians were to become very jealous of the Venetian monopoly, and in altered political circumstances the imperial government was certain to attempt its abrogation.

THE MOSLEM REVIVAL IN THE WEST, THE ALMORAVIDES

It was not in Asia Minor alone that Islam was again threatening the Christian position. Simultaneously with the Turkish advance a new Moslem menace of considerable proportions appeared in Spain as a result of events in that peninsula and in North Africa. Shortly before the middle of the eleventh century an ascetic Moslem pilgrim returning from Mecca under-

took to preach a religious revival among the tribes of the upper Niger. Although long converted to Islam these tribes had known little of the religion except its creed, so that this new religious preacher in setting forth the simple puritanism of the Koran and the traditions aroused an enthusiasm almost like that of new conversion. He organized at the start a group of ascetics (Al-Murabitin in Arabic), which have become known in European history as the Almoravides. Like the original followers of Mahomet these fanatics launched a religious war against their neighbors as a means of spreading their strict orthodox tenets. Under a succession of warlike leaders during a period of some thirty years they conquered all the territory between the Niger and the Mediterranean. Their most successful chief, Yusuf ibn Tashfin, founded in 1062 a new capital for his empire at what is now the modern city of Morocco. He succeeded in seizing the supreme rule of the Almoravides, assumed the title Commander of the Faithful, and in 1084 subdued the southern coast of the Straits of Gibraltar. That was just at the moment when Alphonso VI was launching those attacks against Toledo which gave him the city in 1085.

The Moslem emirs of Spain saw in Yusuf a savior from the Christians, but a savior of whom they were much afraid. The culture and luxury of the Spanish princes was in marked contrast with the fanaticism and puritanical simplicity of the African leader and his desert hordes. The Andalusians knew that they must submit either to Almoravide or Christian rule, and they reluctantly chose the former. "I would rather be a

camel-driver in Africa," said the ruler of Seville, "than a swine-herd in Castile." An embassy crossed to Africa requesting Yusuf to come to the aid of his co-religionists, and he accepted with enthusiasm the call to rescue Islam and to extend his empire. Crossing with an army, he assembled under his banner the forces of Moslem Spain and marched against the Spaniards. Alphonso VI collecting all his available men, including the French knights attracted southward by his earlier campaigns, met the invaders. On October 23, 1086, at the battle of Zallaca the Christian army was overwhelmingly defeated.

It would seem as if the Almoravides could now repeat the original Moslem conquest of the peninsula. The Spanish Moslems were again united under a vigorous and inspiring leader, and re-enforced by large numbers of religious enthusiasts from Africa. The Christian reconquest was certainly checked. That it was not immediately undone was due to the distraction of Yusuf by the needs of his newly won African lands on the very morrow of victory, and by his determination to impose his strict religious practices upon the Spanish emirs, and to make his rule of Moslem Spain effective before proceeding further against the Christians. For twenty years after the battle of Zallaca the Almoravide prince was busy consolidating his power in Africa and Spain, and pushing his conquests northward. He never recovered Toledo, but he did move towards the Pyrenees and subdued two thirds of the peninsula, the region from the mouth of the Ebro to the mouth of the Tagus. It was during this period that the

First Crusade was launched, the assault of a renewed Christendom against a reinvigorated Islam. That it was launched to the east instead of into Spain is probably to be, in part, explained by the greater religious attraction of the Holy Places, by the interests of papal policy, and by the vague Christian assumption that Islam was a unit which could be attacked equally well at any point.

CHAPTER II

THE CRUSADES

THE EMPEROR ALEXIUS COMMENUS AND POPE URBAN II

THE historian Gibbon has likened the Emperor Alexius to a Hindu peasant, who, after praying for rain, was overwhelmed by the flood which the too generous gods sent in response. The connection between an appeal from Constantinople and the launching of the crusades is, however, somewhat less definite than this comparison would imply. It must be remembered that the Turkish menace to the Byzantine Empire was less in 1095 than formerly, so that no desperate situation calling for extraordinary efforts existed. Indeed it seems more probable that Alexius, having repulsed enemies from his European frontiers to north and west, felt himself free to take the offensive against the Seljuks for the recovery of Asia Minor. In previous years he had looked to some extent for allies and soldiers in the West, he had negotiated with the Papacy for aid in raising recruits against the barbarians on the Danube, and he had attempted to persuade pilgrim nobles returning to the West from the Holy Land to enter his service. It seems presumable, therefore, that the imperial embassy which appeared at the Council of Piacenza in 1095 was making approaches to the Papacy not unlike earlier requests and in continuation of an already established policy. It offered the occasion, however, for Pope

Urban II to urge upon western Christendom the reconquest not of Asia Minor, the object of Byzantine ambition, but of the Holy Sepulchre, the object of western piety, and from his exhortation resulted the crusade.

For half a century the Papacy, directed by reforming popes such as Leo IX and Gregory VII, had been assuming a position of moral leadership over Latin Christendom. In respect to the clergy this had been achieved through enforcing the canons regarding celibacy and against simony; in respect to the feudal laity the Church was attempting to put some curb upon brutal disorder through organizing the Peace of God and the Truce of God, and by freeing the clergy from feudal influence. This last had led to the Investiture Struggle which was far from settled in 1095. For ten years the Emperor Henry IV had maintained an Anti-pope in Italy, and in 1095 Urban II did not even enjoy safe possession of Rome itself. The preaching of the crusade, therefore, can reasonably be considered as part of the general papal policy of asserting leadership over militant Christianity. It should be noted that the first and most successful crusade was a popular movement from which the kings of Europe held aloof. The Emperor was excommunicate because of the Investiture Struggle. The King of France was under a similar ban for flagrant violation of the marriage canons. The King of England was using the papal schism as a possible means of freeing the English Church from the Papacy, refusing to recognize either Urban II or the Anti-pope as head of the Church, and in this he had the support of the English bishops. In Spain the Al-

moravide peril absorbed royal attention. But his successful appeal to popular religious fervor gave to Urban that position of Christian leadership which befitted the theocratic ideals of the Hildebrandine reformers, confounding and embarrassing the supporters of the Emperor and his Anti-pope in Italy.

LAUNCHING THE FIRST CRUSADE

In November 1095, Pope Urban held a council of French prelates and nobles at Clermont in Auvergne. The occasion was the renewal of the ban against King Philip of France, and the further attempt to establish and extend the Peace and Truce of God. To these he added an eloquent appeal for a great pilgrimage to recover the Holy Places from the infidels. In urging the French to undertake a holy war he dwelt upon the requests for aid which had come from the East, the sufferings of pilgrims and Christians there, and the need of giving assistance against the advancing Moslems. The evil private wars of Christian against Christian, which the Church was trying to curb, should be replaced by this holy war against the infidel, who could not hope to withstand the brave men from the West. The hardships of living in Europe would be exchanged for the pleasures of a land flowing with milk and honey. To those who took the cross, to their families and property, the Church extended its protection. Within the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts they could gain respite from their debts, a suspension of the payment of interest, and some exemption from feudal and secular

control. For sinners the expedition offered the chance of plenary indulgence. "You, oppressors of orphans and widows; you, murderer and violators of churches; you, robbers of the property of others; you, who, like vultures are drawn to the scent of the battlefield, hasten as you love your souls, under your captain Christ to the rescue of Jerusalem. All you who are guilty of such sins as exclude you from the kingdom of God, ransom yourselves at this price, for such is the will of God!" And "when Pope Urban had said these and very many similar things in his urbane discourse, he so influenced to one purpose the desires of all who were present that they cried out 'God wills it! God wills it!'"

Itinerant preachers went forth from Clermont to urge the crusade upon the people. The Pope himself toured France where he stirred up so much popular enthusiasm that contemporaries felt that it could be explained only as an evidence of heavenly assistance. From the start Pope Urban assumed general direction of the movement, appointing Constantinople as the rendezvous for the pilgrims, writing to the Emperor Alexius to provide for them, exciting the interest of the naval republics of Italy. It seems possible that the popular response to the crusading idea exceeded the papal expectations. There was a combination of religious fervor and self interest peculiar to the new idea. Here was an opportunity for indulging in warlike adventure under the guise of asceticism, with the possibility of worldly advantage in the new land, and the certainty of spiritual benefits to all eternity. An enterprise inspired by God seemed guaranteed success.

The fanatic, the adventurer, the enterprising merchant, the debtor, the serf, and the outlaw, all found in the crusade a welcome occasion for betterment. While the rank and file in the crusading armies were actuated by motives of genuine religious enthusiasm, the principal leaders regarded the enterprise as also an act of political conquest in which they could hope to carve out principalities for themselves in Syria, much as their contemporaries had done in England, Spain, and Sicily.

The pilgrim character, particularly of the early crusades, had certain very serious military handicaps. In most cases not even the bonds of feudalism held the various groups together. Each crusader was a pilgrim vowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre, but the time and means of fulfilling his vow were largely at his own discretion. Unless he was the personal retainer of some lord he was subject to no-one's orders, although he would probably attach himself temporarily to the company of some prominent leader. Consequently there was no discipline and very little direction. On the First Crusade a group of the chief princes attempted to make decisions and the papal legate exerted a moral influence, but the leaders themselves were very prone to quarrel or to undertake independent enterprises. Ignorance of geography frequently led crusading bands to take impossible routes. The necessity of living off the country often led to degradations against friendly communities along the line of march, while it enabled the enemy to starve the crusaders by devastating the region through which they must advance. In addition there were crowds of noncombatants, all pilgrims, who

served only to make the march more slow and disorderly, and who consumed supplies without contributing anything to the work of conquest. Small wonder that the waste of effort and life was huge and the immediate results very small.

THE FIRST CRUSADE

That the First Crusade did succeed is, in large part, to be explained by the conditions which prevailed among the Moslems in the last decade of the eleventh century. Had the crusade come a generation earlier or later it would probably have encountered much more effective resistance. It should be remembered that the Seljuk principalities in western Asia were mere military states, in which a chief, with his band of warriors, imposed his authority and levied tribute upon the mass of the population. This rule, by its nature, was superficial and fluctuating. Local wars of conquest, fraternal rivalries for succession, and usurpations produced a condition of chronic political instability. The conquering union existing under the first two Seljuk Sultans was less apparent under the third, and disappeared entirely in 1092 when he was struck down by an assassin. Indeed the arrival in Asia of the brotherhood of the Assassins was a new and peculiar agency for disorder. This was a Shiite organization aiming at the overthrow of the Caliphate at Bagdad. Its headquarters were an impregnable stronghold in northern Persia, and its members were sworn to unquestioning obedience to the Grand Prior, popularly known as "The Old Man of the Mountain." Under the inspiration of re-

ligious fervor assassination was systematized by these fanatics in a manner hitherto unknown. Sultans, Caliphs, viziers, and emirs fell before their daggers, while the uncertainties and discords of Moslem politics were accentuated by this new terror. Furthermore, it will be recalled that Syria, the objective of the crusading army, had been a bone of contention between the Sunnite Turks and the Shiite Egyptians. Each willingly saw the other beaten by the Christians. So while the latter beat the Turkish emirs in northern Syria the Egyptians drove the Turks out of Jerusalem; and when the crusaders turned against the latter there was no assistance to the city from the neighboring Sunnite states. Throughout, the Latins met with only local resistance. The opposition from the Egyptians might well have been more formidable had not the Caliphs of Cairo been threatened from the west by Yusuf ibn Tashfin and his Almoravides who, in addition to their conquest of Spain, were turning to the conquest of Tunis, a tributary of Cairo and the region from which the Fatimites themselves had conquered Egypt. This was a much greater danger to Egypt than the crusaders. Indeed, from the Moslem point of view the crusades were episodes of merely local significance.

In the fall of 1096 the principal crusading armies arrived successively at Constantinople. Generally speaking there were three groups, the Lotharingians from the Rhineland among whom the most prominent leader was Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine; the Provencals from southern France under Raymond, Count of Toulouse; and the Normans led by Boemund.

One of the fundamental difficulties of the whole crusading movement immediately appeared, namely the relations of the westerners to the Byzantine Emperors. Alexius Comnenus and his successors were quite devoid of the religious ardor which presumably actuated the crusaders. The Emperor looked to recover Asia Minor and to defend his frontiers against attack from the east. The western leaders from the start, no doubt, expected to join the Byzantines in expelling the Turk from western Asia, but they had personal ambitions as well which ran counter to the imperial policy, and which might lead to open hostility with their imperial ally. They wanted to conquer principalities for themselves in Syria, or in any other place where conquest might be easy. "In appearance," wrote Anna Comnena, "they were on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but in truth they wanted to oust the Emperor from his throne and to seize the capital." The schism in the Church between Greeks and Latins, the mutual antipathy of the cultured and the barbarous, and the presence in the crusading host of Boemund and his Normans, old and formidable enemies of the Empire, made for friction, suspicion, and fear on both sides. Momentarily the difficulty was smoothed over when the crusading chiefs did homage to the Emperor, and the latter promised to take the cross and to bring re-enforcements to the Latin armies. But the clash of interests remained in the Byzantine ambition to exercise suzerainty over the crusading princes and the desire of the latter to be independent, and this rivalry was accentuated by the old Norman ambition to conquer the Byzantine Empire.

The campaign began in the spring of 1097 with a successful siege of Nicaea. A pitched battle on August first at Dorylaeum opened the route across Asia Minor to the crusaders, but the devastated condition of the country caused them frightful losses. The real purpose of some of the leaders became apparent with the passage of the Taurus, when certain of them began making local conquests for themselves, quarrelling with each other for the possession of cities, and turning aside from the main expedition. Notable among these personal ventures was one by Baldwin, the brother of Duke Godfrey, to the Armenian city of Edessa. Entering the service of the Christian prince there, he was adopted by the latter as his heir. A local revolution followed soon after, the Armenian ruler was killed, and Baldwin reigned in his stead, marrying an Armenian princess, and leaving the conquest of Jerusalem to others.

Meanwhile the main body of crusaders moved on into Syria, and laid siege to Antioch in October 1097. Here contact with the sea made possible more effective supply, and from this point the fleets of the Italian republics became decisive factors, bringing food and providing siege engines against the formidable fortifications of Antioch. The city, however, would not have been taken had it not been for traitors within who admitted Boemund and his Normans to the walls on June third. Three days later a Turkish army under the Emir of Mosul besieged the Latins in the newly captured city. Fortunately the Moslem chiefs in the besieging army were mutually hostile to each other and

little disposed to fight under their commander, while the crusaders were desperate, were momentarily encouraged by the timely discovery of the lance alleged to have pierced Christ on the cross, a very potent relic, and were, for the time, under the authority of their most skilful leader, Boemund. The result was a sortie for battle from Antioch on June twenty-eighth, and an apparently miraculous Christian victory.

But with success the rivalries of the crusading chiefs became more bitter. Boemund and Raymond disputed for the possession of Antioch, and their dissension delayed further advance until the following year, while the Egyptians occupied Jerusalem. Even then it was the clamor of the rank and file, for whom the crusade was primarily a pilgrimage, which forced Godfrey and Raymond to leave Antioch to Boemund and to move on to the Holy City. Arriving before the walls on June 6, 1099, they took the place by storm on the fifteenth. "And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there," wrote one prince to his wife, "know that in Solomon's Porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses." This conquest was assured two months later by the demoralizing defeat of an Egyptian army near Ascalon, but the capture of the latter city was prevented by a quarrel between Godfrey and Raymond as to which of them it should belong. The Count of Toulouse, disappointed for a second time, set about winning territory for himself around the city of Tripolis on the coast.

For the pilgrims on the First Crusade, those who sur-

vived to the end, the expedition had been a great success. They had triumphantly accomplished their vows, killed and defeated infidels, prayed at the Holy Sepulchre, bathed in the Jordan. They could now return home justified, and most of them did so. For the adventurers, to whom the expedition was a more practical matter, the difficulties were not yet over. The conquest of Palestine and of the Syrian coast was only begun. Their extraordinary success so far, however, filled them with confidence and led to the formulation of plans for the conquest of Egypt. These were never accomplished but they were repeatedly revived throughout the whole crusading epoch. The newly conquered lands had to be organized, and the original plan was for an ecclesiastical state in which the secular princes did homage to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was also papal legate. It was in this connection that Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen "Advocate of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." The precariousness of the position occupied by the Latins in the East became almost immediately apparent. Within a year of the fall of Jerusalem Godfrey was dead and Boemund, Prince of Antioch, was a prisoner in a Turkish castle, while in the following year three new armies coming from Europe to re-enforce the crusaders and to carry on the holy war, after enduring great suffering from thirst and famine, were dispersed and massacred by the Turks in Asia Minor.

THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

The real founder of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was Baldwin of Edessa, the crusading prince who had been so occupied with his own interests that he had taken no part in the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem. Less religious than his brother Godfrey, and more self-seeking, Baldwin transformed the ecclesiastical principality into a feudal kingdom and assumed the title "King of Jerusalem." With an eye to practical realities he undertook to strengthen the new kingdom by conciliating the local population irrespective of religion, and by making alliances with the Italian cities. The continuous assistance of the latter was essential, both for the capture of the Syrian coast towns and for assuring communications with Europe. Godfrey had already made agreements with the Venetians and had found that they sold their assistance high. Their standards were the privileges which they already enjoyed in Constantinople, and their interest in the crusade was devoid of any hindering religious sentiment. Baldwin and the other Latin princes turned to the Genoese and Pisans. In general the naval republics demanded, in addition to their share of the booty, special quarters in the captured cities which should be directly under the jurisdiction of the Italian city state. More important still were the rights of importing and selling goods without paying taxes. With these privileges Italian colonies grew up in the Latin Kingdom, not subject to the royal government, which monopolized trade and absorbed the revenues of the ports. Such an arrangement

stimulated commerce without increasing the resources of the crusading states. From the start the material interests of the Italian merchants became a decisive factor in the history of the Latin Kingdom. The Christian conquest of the Syrian coast served to establish the Italian position there, but the continued Christian rule of that region would not be necessary to maintain Italian commerce if the merchants could make satisfactory arrangements later with the Moslems.

Probably the most significant result of the First Crusade was this establishment of a new point of contact between East and West in a region which had unusual religious and commercial attractions for the Latin Christians of Europe. The leaders of the First Crusade had been moved to participate in that expedition by the desire to gain for themselves principalities in a land reputed to be rich and prosperous. Consequently the period of the first generation of crusaders was one of continued warfare for the establishment of four Latin states, the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripolis, and the kingdom of Jerusalem. But the country was never completely subdued, and the second generation of Frankish rulers, heirs and successors to the men of the First Crusade, preferred a policy of conciliation to one of conquest. They found themselves a small, organized, fighting class ruling over a large alien population, submissive but of uncertain loyalty, which differed from them in custom, language, and religion, but upon which they were dependent for subsistence. In this respect their position was analogous to that of the Turkish military chieftains

whom they replaced, although the cultural and religious gulf between the Christian ruler and his native subjects was probably greater. Furthermore the Latins soon discovered that much was to be gained by trade with the adjacent Moslems. Consequently the fanatical spirit which actuated the original pilgrim host, the force which captured Jerusalem, declined among the Europeans who settled in Syria. They tended to adopt the practices of their Moslem subjects and neighbors. Their relations with Moslem emirs were as friendly as with the Christian barons of the kingdom. Border fighting was intermittent, but none of the Latin rulers hesitated to form alliances with Moslems against their Christian rivals. Each learned to respect the other with the result that, through constant intercourse, the Christians learned in detail the more cultivated manner of living which prevailed among the Moslems. The fanaticism of the holy war gave place to a tolerant cosmopolitanism which often shocked westerners newly come to the Holy Land. The Latins intermarried with the Syrians. They struck coins with Arabic inscriptions, even quotations from the Koran, in order to facilitate trade. The native farmers and Arab merchants were treated well by the Christian rulers, and Moslems were permitted to worship publicly without fear of molestation.

RELATIONS OF THE LATIN KINGDOM WITH EUROPE

It was not, however, the Latins who settled in Syria who were the civilizing agents for western Europe. They merely provided the connection whereby their

fellow Christians from home were able to discover the East. The recovery of the Holy Places, and the recurrent necessity of defending them, greatly stimulated travel from Europe to Syria. Pilgrims by thousands visited the Holy Land and then, after a longer or shorter sojourn, returned to their homes, bringing back novelties learned over-seas, having developed the larger point of view which comes with travel and from contact with a different and superior civilization. The pilgrim transport became an important and profitable business. Large vessels, specially built for this traffic, sailed regularly from the ports of Italy and southern France at Easter and in June, carrying pilgrims to Syria. When we consider that this continued, intermittently no doubt, for upwards of a century and a half, we get the impression of a migration of very large proportions. Periodically, too, when the Latin Kingdom was threatened, great expeditions, which have often been over-emphasized in the history of the crusades, would be organized to bring assistance to the eastern Christians, so that momentarily the numbers of those going to the East would be increased; but continually the Levantine principalities were seeking recruits and re-enforcements in the West, and younger sons and military adventurers were going out to seek their fortunes in Syria.

Indeed, it is the situation produced by this stream of pilgrims from Europe, and the military weakness of the Latin Kingdom which brought into existence the Military Orders, those organizations peculiar to the crusading movement. These were religious congregations of

soldier-monks, bound by the Benedictine vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but devoted to the care and defense of pilgrims. The oldest of them, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers), dates from the First Crusade; twenty years later was founded the order of the Knights of the Temple, and in 1197 that of the Teutonic Knights. Composed of nobles who had renounced their worldly interests at home these orders formed a permanent force in the East. Becoming popular in the West, as well, their numbers increased and their chapters multiplied until they formed one of the most important links between Europe and Syria, and became very active agents in the transmission of cultural influence from the Orient.

As experiments in colonization the Latin principalities established by the crusaders were failures, and in that fact is to be found the explanation for the eventual cessation of crusading. We have already noted that the number of permanent settlers was relatively small. Consequently in a crisis the Kingdom of Jerusalem was dependent upon western support. But the princes of Europe often proved reluctant to squander their treasure and their armies in expeditions which touched no vital interests of their kingdoms. Louis VII of France took the cross for the Second Crusade in a moment of remorse for burning a church full of refugees during a local war, despite the opposition to crusading of his barons and chief advisers; while his companion the Emperor Conrad III was persuaded against his will by the vigorous eloquence of St. Bernard, a result which even the saint regarded as miraculous. Under

pressure from religious enthusiasts and public opinion great princes might be forced to take the cross, but none of the crusades after the first can be said to have been moved by the fanaticism and earnestness which achieved victory in 1099. It is scarcely strange therefore that all the great military expeditions were dismal failures. They seem only to have excited suspicion and hostility among the westerners towards the Latin Christians whom they found living like Moslems and apparently no longer imbued with ardor for the holy war. The survivors of the Second Crusade reported bitterly that their failure to capture Damascus was due to the defection of the men of Jerusalem corrupted by Moslem gold, but they added with satisfaction that the gold proved to be nothing but gilded brass. European rulers became indifferent to the fate of Jerusalem after the failure of the Third Crusade, despite the continued fervor of the pious and the exhortations of the Church. Within a century of the Council of Clermont crusading to the East began to lose its glamour.

The Latin Kingdom itself was as weakly organized as can be imagined. Instead of being a united state it consisted of four principalities, bound together by very loose feudal bonds, with rulers disposed to quarrel among themselves. One of its most important sources of revenue was denied to the crusading state because of the Italian commercial monopoly. Disunion was further accentuated by the trade rivalry of the Italian republics, who not only injected their feuds into Syrian politics, but who sometimes found an agreement with the Moslems more profitable than with the Christians.

The Hospitallers and Templars became antagonistic to each other, which added to the military and political confusion. The activity of conquest and defense in an unaccustomed climate seems to have worn out the ruling race which tended to die off more rapidly than in Europe. Politically this meant frequent minorities in the crusading states, often under the regencies of women, and eventually a disputed succession to the throne of Jerusalem completed the disorganization of the kingdom. Furthermore the persistent attempts of the Byzantine Emperors to force their suzerainty upon the Latin princes diverted the latter from the Moslem war to no good purpose, because the Byzantines were not prepared themselves to wage a first class war against the infidel, and they were not strong enough to protect the Latin Kingdom from a vigorous Moslem attack. The existence of the kingdom came to depend on the weakness of the Moslems rather than the strength of the Christians. The Latins conquered scarcely more than the coast of Syria. They were always exposed on the east to such Moslem states as Mosul, Aleppo, and Damascus, and on the south to the Egyptians. Yet it should, perhaps, be remarked that, considering the kaleidoscopic history of most Levantine principalities, a state which could last for two centuries was unusual.

MOSLEM RECOVERY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY,
SALADIN

As long as the Turkish emirs of western Asia fought among themselves the Latin Kingdom stood in no dan-

ger of an attack sufficiently strong to threaten its existence, but as soon as a leader appeared able to unite the Moslems under a single, effective rule the recovery of Syria was certain to be attempted. Such an one arose in the early twelfth century in the person of Zenghi, Atabeg of Mosul. He aspired to conquer Aleppo and Damascus from his Moslem rivals, and Edessa from the Christians. His capture of the latter in 1144 began the Moslem reconquest and occasioned the Second Crusade. His son Nur-ed-din became ruler of Damascus and added Egypt to his domain when the last Fatimite Caliph died in 1171. This new Moslem kingdom, surrounding the crusaders, on the death of its founder, was usurped by the ablest of his emirs, Saladin, who established himself as Sultan in Egypt and turned his energies to driving the unbelievers out of Palestine. The rivalry of Sunnite Abbassids and Shiite Fatimites, which had been so useful for the Latins in 1099, thus disappeared. Islam was again united.

Jerusalem was a sacred city for the Moslems as well as for the Christians. Therein stood the throne of David and the temple of Solomon, there the prophet Mahomet had miraculously ascended into Heaven, and there all men would be gathered together on the Resurrection Day. For an ambitious ruler like Saladin, who regarded himself as an instrument of God, it was easy to start a holy war. A few Christians, especially those newly come to the East, still burned with the desire to war on the enemies of the true faith. For them no agreement made with Moslems was binding, for no faith need be kept with infidels. For certain adven-

turers, too, war against the Moslems was a means of livelihood, and one of the most enterprising had the boldness to launch ships on the Red Sea to raid the Egyptian trade route there and to attack the Moslem Holy Places at Mecca. Truce-breaking and plundering along the caravan road from Damascus to Cairo on the part of irrepressible Christians was common enough to afford Saladin excuse, as soon as he was ready, for beginning his war of reconquest. His victory was sudden and sweeping. Within a single year, 1187, he had annihilated the Christian army, capturing on the battle-field the Latin King and his most precious relic, the true cross, recovered Jerusalem, and shut up the Franks in the coast towns. Europe responded to these disasters with the Third Crusade under the Kings of England and France, and the German Emperor, the most formidable military undertaking of the mediaeval period. But despite this show of power the Christians in Syria never recovered from their defeats, continuing merely to cling to Acre and the other ports, and their retention of these after the return of the western armies was due largely to the dissension which developed among Saladin's heirs.

WAR IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IN SPAIN,
THE ALMOHADES

It should not be supposed that the expeditions to Syria distracted Christian Europe from continuing to combat the Moslems at the older points of contact. The immediate successor to Urban II preached a cru-

sade against the Moorish pirates who occupied the Balearics, and the Counts of Catalonia in alliance with the Pisans made temporary conquest of some of the islands in 1114-1115. The Genoese fleets, similarly, helped the Kings of Castile to capture cities on the coast of Spain. Roger II, the Norman ruler of Sicily, looked aggressively southward to the North African shore, and in 1118 launched a campaign of conquest against Tunis which lasted nine years. Broken off at that time because of more pressing matters in Italy it was renewed in 1134 and the whole coast from Bona to Tripoli subjugated. Crusaders from northern Europe voyaging to Jerusalem often stopped in Spain to war against the Moors, helping the Portuguese to capture Lisbon in 1147. By this time the Almoravide empire had degenerated into the anarchy which seems the inevitable fate of Oriental monarchies, and the ultimate Christian victory over western Islam seemed imminent. It was delayed, however, by another fanatical religious revival among the Berbers stimulated by a new sect, the Almohades. Formed in Morocco this new group, under skilful leaders, between 1130 and 1163, conquered North Africa from the Almoravides, and eventually gained the recent Norman conquests along the coast. Like their predecessors, the Almohades crossed northward into Spain, and once again united the Iberian Moslems. The result was both a cultural and military revival, brilliant but brief. In 1170 the Almohade prince occupied Seville, and the splendid mosque which still stands there is a monument to his wealth and taste. Under the patronage of his successor flourished Averroës, the

last and greatest of the mediaeval Moslem savants. This new pressure from Africa seems to have inspired new crusading zeal among the Spaniards. The Templars were encouraged to organize in Spain, and three similar military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, were formed in imitation of the crusaders for carrying on the holy war in the peninsula. Moslem success reached its apogee shortly after Saladin's capture of Jerusalem, when in 1195 the Castilians, unsupported by the other Christian states, were routed by the Almohades at Alarcos. This disaster following so soon on the failure of the Third Crusade, caused a crusade against the Almohades to be preached in the West. The Spanish princes, under pressure from Pope Innocent III, composed their quarrels and acted together. Crusaders from France crossed the Pyrenees to their assistance, and recruits came from the Italian cities. On the field of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 was fought the decisive victory which marked the beginning of the end for Moorish rule in Spain. By the middle of the thirteenth century Cordova and Seville were regained, and nothing remained to the Moslems but the little kingdom of Granada, which maintained a precarious existence for another century and a half.

RELATIONS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE WITH VENICE AND THE NORMANS

Meanwhile the attention of some of the European states was being somewhat distracted from the Latin Kingdom in Syria to the Byzantine Empire. Alexius

I and his Comneni successors, helped by the victories of the First Crusade, devoted themselves during most of the twelfth century to recovering territory and reviving the prestige of their empire. Their reconquest of Asia Minor, while considerable, was never complete since the Seljuks retained possession of the interior. This unsatisfactory result was due to the distracting difficulties which the Emperors had with their European neighbors and foes, and also to their persistent effort to extend and maintain Byzantine suzerainty over the crusading states in Syria. One of the chief hinderances, however, to imperial ambition was the Venetian trade monopoly. Under the original concession made by Alexius in 1082 the Venetians in Constantinople enjoyed privileges not unlike the extraterritorial rights in modern times of Europeans in China. They held the commerce of the empire in a strangle hold. A large Venetian colony occupied part of the imperial capital, an object of envy to the Greek populace because of its wealth, and of patriotic and religious hatred because of its difference in nationality and creed. For the government these Venetians were an object of concern, not only because they sapped the economic strength of the empire, but because they were also disposed to disturb the peace by their quarrels with the other Italians, their trade rivals, and to dabble in Byzantine politics by intriguing with discontented aristocrats in Constantinople. It would be apparent also to an impecunious Emperor that the seizure of the Venetian property in the capital would be both popular and profitable. Furthermore the Venetians were constantly

abusing their commercial privileges by indulging in piracy and slave-trading, and bedevilling imperial foreign policy by warring at sea against the Moslems irrespective of treaties and truces. The advantages gained by Alexius in 1082 were neutralized by the fact that the concessions accorded the Venetians by the crusading states deflected to Syria much of the trade which had formerly come to the Bosphorus, and by the fact that the Venetians were finding it more profitable to trade with the Normans than to fight against them as imperial allies.

The Normans, on their part, were just as hostile towards the Byzantine Empire as in Robert Guiscard's time, and considerably stronger. Boemund, as Prince of Antioch, had been humiliated by Alexius, and had returned to western Europe urging a crusade against the perfidious Greeks to whose treachery, he said, was due all the disaster suffered by the crusaders. The result was an expedition with papal sanction and all the characteristics of a crusade launched against the Byzantines in 1107. This effort failed, but it indicated clearly, even to contemporaries, the willingness of the Normans to use the crusade as a cloak for their territorial ambitions. With the founding of the Kingdom of Sicily in 1130 by Roger II these ambitions became more grandiose, aiming at the domination of the Mediterranean Sea. We have seen how this led to conquests in North Africa. It also led the Norman kings to assume the rôle of protectors for the Christians in Syria, and champions of the Latins in Constantinople. And the agitation in the West for a combined effort to con-

quer Byzantium became an important part of Norman policy. The Latins of the West became more and more receptive to this idea. The armies of the Second and Third Crusades showed a marked disposition to pillage Byzantine territory and capture Byzantine towns in their march eastward. The German Emperors on these expeditions were regarded by the Byzantine Caesars as upstart rivals, which made for friction and hard feeling. An imperial conquest of Constantinople would heal a political as well as a religious schism.

The Byzantine revival under the later Comneni led to renewed and intensified conflict with the western states. The Emperors attempted to abolish the Venetian monopoly, to oust the Venetian colony, to counter-balance the Venetian privileges by grants to the Genoese and Pisans, to overawe the Adriatic republic by conquering Dalmatia. The Italians replied by making alliance with the Normans, raiding the Aegean, and preparing a naval attack against Constantinople. Indeed a Norman fleet actually forced the Dardanelles in 1155, but without decisive result. In 1172 the Emperor felt strong enough to seize the Venetian quarter in the city, and a general war threatened, with the western enemies of Venice and the Normans allied to the Byzantine. When, however, peace was made the latter agreed to pay an indemnity to the republic for its losses, but most of it was never paid. The Comnenian revival was just strong enough to alarm the Venetians and to excite them to desperate measures, without being strong enough to break their grip on the Empire.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE

In the political confusion at Constantinople which followed the extinction of the Comneni the westerners found their opportunity. One of the early phases of that confusion was marked by a massacre of the hated Latins by the mob of Constantinople urged on by the Greek clergy. The Norman king, as avenger of his co-religionists, attempted to conquer the Empire at once. The Venetians became convinced that such a conquest was now necessary as a means of guaranteeing the personal safety of their citizens. The appeals for political support of Byzantine rivals and pretenders offered the occasion for intervention when the Italian powers were disposed to use it. Attention, however, was temporarily diverted to Syria by the rise of Saladin and the Third Crusade, while the succession to the Norman throne first of a woman and then of a child paralyzed the Sicilian kingdom. But the Venetians were able to find new allies in the bands of crusaders which gathered for the Fourth Crusade at the urging of Pope Innocent III, to recover the Holy Land by striking at Egypt, now the center of Moslem power.

Such an attack must needs be by sea, so the crusading chiefs turned to Venice, the leading naval power, for transport and contracted to pay for the use of the Venetian fleet. When, however, the bands of crusaders assembled at Venice their numbers were much below the expectations of the leaders and the latter, in consequence, could not fulfil their contract with the republic. After considerable haggling, in which the crusaders, be-

Sepulchre. The West, however, instead of being scandalized at this misuse of the crusade, waxed enthusiastic at the destruction of the hated schismatics. Even the Pope, whose orders had been repeatedly ignored, contented himself with hopes for the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. The crusaders on their part proceeded to elect one of their leaders Emperor, to divide the Balkan peninsula into fiefs distributed among themselves, and to assign the islands and commercial privileges to the Venetians. A Latin Empire was thus created like the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, but more brazenly an adventurer state brought into existence through the fears and ambitions of Venice.

THE LATIN KINGDOM BETWEEN THE MONGOLS AND THE MAMELUKES

The overthrow of the Byzantine Empire by the Fourth Crusade re-opened Asia Minor to the Turks, but the interest of the Moslems in resisting the crusaders or expelling them from Syria was distracted in the thirteenth century by the appearance in Persia and western Asia of conquering Mongol hordes. In 1206 a Mongolian chieftain, having subjugated his neighbors, assumed the title Jinghis Khan ("the Mighty Ruler") and proceeded to conquer China and Central Asia. He organized his followers into a highly disciplined, mounted army, which could move rapidly, live off the country, endure extreme hardship, and fight with skill and desperate boldness. Its chief was an extraordinary genius who inspired blind confidence. In attacking

prosperous countries he permitted unrestrained pillage to his followers, and practised extremes of ruthless cruelty upon his opponents. In consequence the Mongol horde became irresistible, both by its skill and by the terror which it inspired, and the regions which it conquered suffered depopulation and destruction unprecedented since the days of the Assyrians. Although the Mongols were heathen the Caliph of Bagdad was willing to use them against his Persian enemies, and Jinghis Khan's invasion of Western Asia in 1219 somewhat paralleled the Seljuk intervention in the eleventh century. Although this first Mongol invasion was confined to eastern Persia it contributed to the anarchy prevailing in the Middle East and opened the way for later attacks. In 1231 hordes ravaged Mesopotamia, stirring the Egyptians and the western Turks to combine for protection. It may have been a desire to conciliate the Christians in apprehension of Mongol attack which led the Sultan of Egypt in 1229 to surrender Jerusalem to the Emperor Frederick II who was crusading then to the Holy Land. This Christian recovery of the Holy City, however, was short-lived, because within fifteen years the Mongols had over-run Syria, devastated the country, and sacked Jerusalem. But Christian interest in the Levant was small at the moment for the Mongols were invading Europe also. Having occupied Russia they invaded Hungary in 1241, burned its capital, and rode to the very shores of the Adriatic. Fortunately the necessity of electing a new Khan caused them to withdraw over the Carpathians while their leaders returned to Mongolia.

The most formidable Mongol onslaught came in the middle of the century when Hulagu, the grandson of Jinghis Khan set out to conquer all western Asia. Even the mountain fastness of the Assassins fell before him. In February 1258 his forces stormed Bagdad, capturing the Caliph. Certain Moslems warned him that if the blood of the Caliph were spilled the world would be darkened and an earthquake would engulf the Mongols, so Hulagu put the Caliph and his son in sacks and set his horsemen to trample them to death. So ended the Abbassid Caliphate of Bagdad. As an enemy of Islam Hulagu favored Jews and Christians, so the Papacy and the Latin princes of Syria looked to him as a possible ally against a common foe. It was hoped that the Holy Land might be recovered without military effort from Europe. It was hoped that the Mongols would become Christians and that the Moslems would be totally destroyed. Hulagu's capture of Mosul and Aleppo seemed to promise some such results. Damascus submitted to him and only Egypt remained to fight for Islam.

The latter state was fortunate at the moment in that power had been seized by a vigorous military oligarchy, the Mamelukes. Originally, as their name indicates, these had been members of the slave body-guard organized by Saladin's successors. By buying young Turks, Kurds, Circassians, and Georgians, and educating them in arms, organizing them in troops, conferring upon them fiefs and pensions, and appointing their leaders to high political position, the Egyptian Sultans created an organized soldier aristocracy, with a notable *esprit*

de corps, and with real fighting power. They demonstrated the latter effectively against two crusading armies from Europe which captured Damietta in 1217 and again in 1248, and on the second occasion they annihilated the Christian forces and captured King Louis IX of France, their leader. Like the Turkish guard at Bagdad in former times, the Mamelukes discovered that they could make and unmake Sultans with ease, that, indeed, the most vigorous and ambitious of their own leaders could aspire to the throne. One of the most capable of these, Beibars, distinguished himself in a decisive victory over the Mongols near Nazareth in 1260, and on the strength of his achievement assassinated his lord and became Sultan in his place. The Christians in Syria, regarding the Mongols as friends, urged upon Hulagu a renewal of his invasion of Syria in the spring of 1264 when the Moslem soldiers would be at home and their horses out at pasture, but the Mongol Khan died the next year without making response to this appeal. The Mameluke Sultan, however, now saw in the Christians dangerous enemies ready to aid the invader, so he turned while there was yet time to complete the conquests of Saladin. In 1268 the Egyptians captured Antioch. The new and last crusade organized in 1270 by Louis IX to succor the Latin East was turned aside to capture Tunis, where its leader died and it accomplished nothing. In 1289 Tripolis fell, and finally in 1291 Acre was taken by storm. All the other Christian towns quickly surrendered and Latin rule in Syria came to an end.

EUROPEAN CRUSADING ENERGIES DIVERTED INTO OTHER CHANNELS

Europe regarded these events with indifference. The thirteenth century saw the enthusiasm for religious warfare turned into other directions and absorbed by other enterprises. The pious motives of the First Crusade had given way to the worldly ambitions of Popes, princes, and maritime republics. We have seen how the crusading movement was used to overthrow the principal Christian state in the East. From the blow struck by the Fourth Crusade the Greek Empire, restored to Constantinople in 1261, never recovered, so that it could offer no effectual resistance to the Ottoman Turks when, in the fourteenth century, they invaded Europe. Even the Syrian principalities were weakened by the establishment of the Latin Empire, because many of the adventurers who would ordinarily have re-enforced the Latin Kingdom went off to seek their fortunes in the new and more promising regions of Greece. The Papacy contributed to the diversion of crusading ardor by preaching holy wars of a new sort. The Albigensian Crusade of 1208 promised all the spiritual advantages to be gained by a long and hazardous journey to the Holy Land, so warriors flocked to southern France to kill heretics and conquer territory instead of going to the aid of the sorely pressed Kingdom of Jerusalem. Later in the century the Papacy's struggle with the Emperor Frederick II and his heirs became so bitter that a crusade was preached against them, and the pious were urged to enlist under the banner of the

Church to fight their fellow Christians in Italy for the advancement of papal political interests. Indeed any enemy of the Papacy, either the King of Aragon, or the Roman nobles, or the barons of England, could be classified with the Moslems as the fit object for a holy war.

Nothing more strikingly illustrates the diversion of the crusading spirit from its original purpose than the later history of the Teutonic Knights and the Templars. The former, it is true, maintained their headquarters at Acre until the city's fall, but within thirty years of its foundation the order was turning its attention away from the Holy Land. The King of Hungary and the Bishop of Prussia invited its aid against the heathen Tartars and Slavs who threatened their frontiers. The prospect of conquering new lands in eastern Europe was much more alluring than anything in Syria. The Papacy extended all privileges of crusaders to the knights engaged in conquering Prussia. Pious adventurers from the West turned to this new field of activity; and in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Knights became so absorbed in conquering, defending, and ruling this border province, that they lost all connections with the East, forgot the religious zeal of their founders, and became a landed aristocracy. The Templars remained active in the holy war until the Moslem reconquest of Syria was complete, so active in fact that in the disastrous battles which marked that reconquest the membership in the order resident in the East was almost annihilated. But the important activities of the order in its later years

had come to be financial rather than military. The Templars became wealthy from extensive grants made to them in Europe. Their strongholds, "Temples," in the West were safe places for Kings and Popes to deposit their treasure. Their international character gave them the opportunity to play the rôle of bankers in Europe and the Levant, and to this they devoted much of their energy. This wealth and power, together with the privileges conferred on the order by the Pope, tended to make it a state within a state, arousing the hostility of the secular clergy and the jealousy of the King of France. Their wealth excited the cupidity of the latter, Philip IV, grandson of St. Louis last of the crusaders, with the result that in 1312 he trumped up charges of heresy against the Knights, persuaded the Pope to suppress the order, burned the last Grand Master at the stake, and appropriated a large share of the order's property.

Only the Hospitallers continued to coöperate with the Latin principalities in the East, which, after the fall of Acre, maintained themselves at Cyprus and Rhodes as late as the sixteenth century, serving as important centers for trade and as European outposts against the Turks. These states also had the support of the Venetians who, after the Fourth Crusade, occupied part of the Peloponnesus and the Aegean archipelago, and monopolized the Black Sea trade. Even after the Greek restoration in 1261 the Venetians preserved some hold on the islands until the seventeenth century when the Ottoman Turks drove them from their last possessions in Crete. Even then one small crusading

state remained in the Mediterranean, for the Hospitalers, expelled from Rhodes, withdrew to Malta where they ruled until Napoleon's time. It remained for the upstart child of the French Revolution to obliterate the last political vestige of the crusades.

CHAPTER III

THE RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES

CULTURAL CONTACT OF CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM

THREE times during the Christian era have the peoples of western Europe experienced a relatively rapid expansion of their knowledge of the world which has greatly improved their manner of living and considerably changed their point of view. The first of these was during the period of the crusades; the second came in the Renaissance; and the third is that phase of the Industrial Revolution, the Age of Science, in which we now live. It is the first of these which here engages our attention, and in considering the results of the crusades it is proper to review the whole process whereby the western peoples learned from the Byzantines and Moslems, both of whom enjoyed civilizations founded upon the culture of the classical Roman Empire. This educational process was already begun when Urban preached at Clermont, and would undoubtedly have taken place, more slowly perhaps and somewhat differently, had there been no great military pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Those expeditions stimulated it, excited a curiosity in new things among tens of thousands of persons, and provided them with an opportunity for learning about the world, which proved a most potent civilizing influence.

It must, however, always be remembered that those

undertakings merely established new points of contact with the older civilizations. Already in Spain Christian and Moslem had been living side by side since the eighth century. The warfare of conquest and reconquest was intermittent, but even at its worst it did not prevent considerable mingling of peoples. Both parties tolerated their opponents of the opposite faith when territory was annexed; Christian scholars could and did go to the Moslem universities; and always the Jews provided intermediaries between Moorish Spain and the north. Again in Sicily, which the Normans of southern Italy conquered from the Saracens in the eleventh century, occurred a mingling of Latins, Byzantines, and Moslems productive of a flourishing culture accessible to Italy, France, England, and Germany. The Sicilian kings and the early Italian republics had established commercial relations with North Africa, Constantinople, and Moslem Spain before the end of the eleventh century, and ideas continued to follow these lines of trade even after the attention of Europe became directed towards Syria.

COMMERCIAL CONTACT OF EUROPE WITH SYRIA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

When the men of the First Crusade settled in Syria, they and their successors had to depend upon Europe for certain necessary supplies, horses, armor, cloth, and the like, which gave occasion for a trade that grew with great rapidity. Pilgrims who returned from the East brought back a knowledge of new products which they

had learned to enjoy during their stay in foreign parts. In this way new demands and new markets were created in the West of which enterprising merchants sought to avail themselves. The introduction into Europe of new articles of commerce, new natural products, and new commercial practices by way of this Moslem trade is clearly marked by the words borrowed from the Arabic which appear during the crusading epoch. Cotton, muslin (cloth of Mosul), damask (cloth of Damascus) became recognized and important articles of commerce. New vegetables and fruits, known among the Moslem peoples, appear, such as rice, sugar, lemons, apricots (sometimes called Damascus plums), garlic (*shalot* *i.e.* little onions of Ascalon).

Under the pressure of a growing commerce well-defined trade-routes, by land and sea, but particularly in the Mediterranean, came to be established. The crusades recovered for Christendom the naval control of the Mediterranean Sea lost since the ninth century. European sailors need no longer timidly hug the shores of the Balkan peninsula, carrying on a limited trade with Constantinople. They could dare to make directly for Syria, Egypt, and the North African coast, learning by experience the art of navigation in Mediterranean waters. Northerners, like the English in the reign of Richard the Lion-Hearted, undertook naval expeditions on a scale larger than they had ever before attempted, and came in contact with the Byzantine, Moslem, and Italian traditions and practices of navigation and ship-building. Trade required vessels of large capacity and cheap propulsion. The result was

the development of sailing ships large enough to carry eight hundred to a thousand persons, but very slow moving because entirely dependent upon the wind. One of these in the thirteenth century would require eight weeks to make the trip from the Levant to western Europe which an ordinary steamer now makes in five days. By the twelfth century knowledge of the compass had been learned, probably from the East, and navigators were using magnetized needles attached to straws or splinters and floating in water as a means for determining direction. The importance of this simple contrivance to maritime development can scarcely be over-emphasized. At the same time a Moslem instrument, the astrolabe, became known and used for determining latitude, thus enabling a ship captain to ascertain his position. The increased experience of large numbers of European sailors made possible the collection of the vast amount of detailed geographical knowledge which is necessary for map-making, and the needs of navigators stimulated such manufacture, so that by the end of the crusading epoch relatively accurate maps of the Mediterranean had already been made. All these things arising from the crusades were helping to encourage a new economic development for western Europe, a development based on commerce rather than agriculture.

A corollary of this revival of commerce was the return of Europe to a money economy such as had characterized the Roman Empire. This had begun before the eleventh century and would have come eventually had there been no crusades, but the rapid growth of the

Levantine trade, and the movement of thousands of travellers brought speedily to an end the period of barter and substituted a period of money and credit. This can, perhaps, be illustrated by the reappearance of gold coins among the west Europeans. In the early Middle Ages gold was too valuable to be coined. There were no transactions requiring pieces worth so much. Among the Byzantines and Moslems, where business flourished, gold coins remained in use, and it is those parts of Europe which first took part in the eastern trade and came into commercial relations with the Saracens and the Eastern Empire which, during the crusading period, developed enough business to warrant the minting of gold. The Kings of Sicily took the lead,¹ but the Italian cities were the ones who re-introduced the practice effectively. In 1252 appeared the first florins (*i.e.* coins of Florence), the Venetian sequin came a generation later, and similar coins in the rest of Europe soon followed. But long before this date the large transactions resulting from the crusading movement had brought about a system of international banking. Barons and princes who wished to go crusading found themselves in need of large sums which they sought to get by selling or mortgaging their lands, or by borrowing. On a smaller scale this was true of every pilgrim. The result was an enormous business in money. But to carry all one's wealth from the Rhine

¹ The first gold coins in the West since the Carolingians were struck by Roger II (1130-1154) as Duke of Apulia, hence the name ducat. Frederick II revived the imperial solidi of Constantine and Theodosius.

to the Jordan was both dangerous and inconvenient. Furthermore, as trade between the East and West grew, the settlement of large transactions in coin was similarly cumbersome. There was a real need for devising some means of exchange whereby the transport of gold and silver could be avoided or reduced to a minimum. The Templars, as we have seen, carried on a system of international banking. The would-be pilgrim could deposit his money in the Temple at Paris and receive a receipt, a letter of credit, which enabled him to obtain money for his journey to the Holy Land and back from the different chapters of the order en route. Similarly western merchants, buying goods in the East, paid for the same with orders on the Temple in Jerusalem. The Italians, who, in the course of trade, established offices and correspondents throughout the East, were not slow to imitate the Templars in carrying on this profitable business in money. It was the beginning of modern international banking.

The initial success of the crusaders and the profits accruing from the Levantine trade served also as stimuli for further penetration of Asia on the part of bold merchants. It seems probable that some Italian traders made their way from the Syrian coast into the interior towards Bagdad, the greatest emporium of western Asia. Still more probable is it that commercial relations with the Egyptians introduced Europeans to the Red Sea route to the Far East, although it may be doubted if any reached the eastern parts of Asia by water. The Moslems enjoyed the position of middlemen in these regions between Europe and Asia, success-

fully excluding the Europeans from contact with the sources of oriental trade. Most important results, however, followed from the capture of Constantinople in 1204. This opened to the Venetians all the possibilities of the Black Sea trade which they were not slow to realize. Establishing themselves on its northern and eastern shores they pushed into Russia and south of the Caucasus towards central Asia. The Mongol attack upon the Turks and the Caliphate of Bagdad, and the hope which it inspired among the Christians of an alliance against the common foe provided another occasion for the westerners to get in touch with the farther parts of Asia. It was repeatedly rumored that the Great Khan desired to be converted to Christianity. Consequently Kings and Popes sent envoys to the Tartars by the overland routes through Russia and Turkestan, Venetian merchants, of whom the Polos are the outstanding examples, penetrated the Mongol empire in search of trade, and Christian missionaries drawn from the Mendicant Orders sought to spread the Gospel among these distant heathen. The result was the discovery of Asia, the acquisition of a mass of information about that continent and its resources which enlarged the European horizon and stimulated the desire for trade relations direct with the Far East.

But like the crusading movement, from which these activities sprung, they were all doomed to failure. The Tartars not only did not become converted to Christianity but eventually became Moslems. Their empire fell to pieces and all hope of obtaining their alliance against the Turks went glimmering. These facts,

coupled with the collapse of the Latin states in Syria, and the increased geographical knowledge of Asia, suggested to some Europeans that inasmuch as they could not control the land routes of western Asia in the face of a triumphant Islam, they might possibly discover a sea route to the Far East and so free themselves from the Moslem middle-men. The advocates of new crusades in the later thirteenth century, when the Latin Kingdom was rapidly approaching its end, insisted that trade with the Moslems must be stopped as a necessary preliminary for conducting the holy war. This would ruin Egypt, since the time of Saladin the chief enemy for the crusaders. The possibility of circumnavigating Africa seems to have originated with certain of these enthusiasts towards the end of the century. It is in 1270 that the Genoese first essay Atlantic exploration and rediscover the Canary Islands, and in 1291, the very year of the fall of Acre, two Genoese galleys sailed out to find the route to India and to bring back useful merchandise. They were never heard of again, but they form one of the connecting links between the commercial enterprise of the crusading period and the Age of Discoveries. Nor should it be forgotten that the Portuguese undertaking of the early fifteenth century, the invasion of Africa in 1415, was not only a continuation of the holy war against the Moors which in preceding centuries had been carried on in the Iberian peninsula, but it was also actuated by the desire to conquer North Africa, like St. Louis's last crusade, as a necessary preliminary to the recovery of Palestine, and that the subsequent exploration of the African coast

had for its purpose, among other things, the turning of Islam's flank as a phase of the holy war. Here as elsewhere the crusading spirit stimulated activities from which momentous events resulted even when the original motive, the war for the faith and the recovery of Jerusalem, remained unrealized. Columbus himself in 1492 hoped that the profits from his voyage would help to finance a war for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre.

EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES UPON WESTERN SOCIETY

In regard to the social and political influence of the crusades it is necessary to be cautious lest too many of the changes which took place in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries be ascribed to their influence. That feudal society was in a process of slow transformation, that politically national monarchies were gradually beginning to form and the international ecclesiastical system to show signs of decay, is obvious quite apart from the crusades. The latter merely contributed to those changes, probably hastened them, by increasing the movement of large numbers of people which tends to stimulate change. Probably these wars, and pilgrimages diminished the population. They provided an opportunity for the man who found living hard, (and who in the Middle Ages did not?) and who possessed sufficient enterprise, to begin life again, for if he were in debt assuming the cross relieved him, for the moment at least, of the burden of his obligations by giving him a moratorium; if he were an outlaw he re-

ceived a pardon, while the expedition to Syria assured him of salvation in Heaven and the possibility of material gain upon earth. Pious lords, concerned for their souls' welfare often freed their serfs as a preliminary to their departure, or, needing money for their pilgrimage, sold emancipation. These facts, combined with the trade revival which came from the crusades, aided in the growth of industry and the more rapid development of town life. Such changes once started reacted on each other. More freemen, no longer bound to an agricultural existence, meant the development of handicrafts at which they could make a profitable living by trade. Their life attracted the serfs of the vicinity and the desire for freedom became greater, the demand became more insistent until, by a gradual process, the unfree agricultural laborer became a peasant tenant farmer or a townsman.

On the other hand the losses of the crusading war fell most heavily upon the feudal nobility, particularly in France. Financial needs might lead to the sale or mortgage of part of their lands, often effecting a permanent change of ownership. Heirs died on the road to the east, or in warfare with the Moslems, or settled permanently in Syria. The noble class as a whole lost both in wealth and personnel by its active participation in the holy war, and this resulted in diminishing its political and military importance. In France consequently, where the nobility took so large a part in the crusades, we find the King profiting by this preoccupation of his strongest political rivals and increasing the power and wealth of the throne at their expense, while

in England and Germany, where the nobility took less interest in the holy war, the monarch continued to find an effective check in the baronage. In this connection should be noted the levying of general contributions in money to meet the expenses of crusading, which may be considered the beginning of royal taxation. The earliest of these is in 1147, and the most famous is the "Saladin tithe" of 1188. Similarly the Pope demanded money from the clergy, a practice which became a precedent and which was often delegated to different kings.

EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES UPON THE WESTERN CHURCH

If the newly developing monarchies profited most from the crusades, politically speaking, probably the oldest institution of mediaeval Europe, the Papacy, suffered most heavily. At the start, it benefited by the crusades through which it appeared as the leader of Europe during the twelfth century. But the Fourth Crusade demonstrated that even Innocent III could not control the movement, and the subsequent failure and misuse of crusading for selfish political purposes seriously discredited the Papacy. In the thirteenth century, when the holy war against the Moslems was permitted to lag while "crusades" were preached and waged against the Hohenstauffen in Italy, the Popes were blamed for stirring up war among Christians, for embezzling funds collected for the war against the Moslems, for preferring the dynastic ambitions of their

French allies to the recovery of the Holy Land, and for perverting from the East to Europe, merely for local, political reasons, the military strength which might have saved Jerusalem. The Moslem victories were regarded as the judgment of God upon the Christians and the blame was laid upon the Popes. Subsequent pontiffs sought to revive, in the fifteenth century, crusading ardor against the Turks, but the Papacy had been too much discredited by that date, and its authority had too much declined, for it to be able to rekindle the religious zeal of 1095, even when the danger to Europe from the Turk was very real. Too often the Popes were suspected of utilizing a crusade as a political expedient and as an excuse for levying taxes. The pontiffs themselves came to regard the suppression of heretics in Europe as more important than combating the infidels.

At the same time the crusades helped to break down church discipline, one of the fundamentals of the ecclesiastical system. Through the sacrament of penance the Church sought to bring the erring to repentance and to the expiation of the temporal punishment due to sin. For the ordinary layman this was the means whereby the Church exercised authority over his daily life and sought to make him conform to Christian standards. From the tenth century this temporal punishment was sometimes remitted, in whole or in part, through the granting of indulgence to an individual who performed some particularly pious act. Plenary indulgences, the remission of all penances, were among the means of persuading warriors to assume the cross, and the diffi-

culties and dangers of the holy war could very properly be regarded as the equivalent of all penance. But the issuance of indulgences suffered the same discrediting misuse as the crusade itself, when war against the heretics in Languedoc, or the Hohenstauffen, or rebellious barons of the papal states came to be considered "crusades." And it was an easy development from this to the sale of pardons. Originally, when a man took the crusader's vow he must make his pilgrimage to the Holy Land or be excommunicated. But if for good reason he could not perform his vow the Pope could release him from it, but in such case it seemed only proper that he should contribute towards the holy war in commutation of his unperformed vow. From this, as the financial needs of the Papacy increased, it was not difficult to use the release from crusading vows as a source of revenue, and as crusaders enjoyed indulgences the sale of indulgences came to be a recognized means of raising money, first for the holy war, and then for any papal need.

CIVILIZATION UNDER THE CALIPHS

Inasmuch as Europe borrowed extensively from the Moslems in matters intellectual during the period of the crusades it is desirable to reconsider the nature of Saracen culture and something of its content.

The regions which the Arabs first conquered had enjoyed a flourishing culture long before Mahomet. Syria and Egypt had been centers of the Hellenistic world since the days of Alexander the Great. Persia

had inherited a national civilization of great antiquity and was in touch with India and the East. The Arab conquerors themselves represented no great intellectual strength, but under the stimulus of Islam they developed a political virility which, blending with the old Graeco-Persian culture, produced in the eighth and ninth centuries a brilliant renaissance of art, learning, and science.

Conditions were favorable for such a development. The income of the Moslem empire was at the disposal of the autocratic Caliph. This enabled the rulers at Bagdad, and later at Cordova and Cairo, to become lavish patrons of art and learning, bestowing the wealth of the state upon scholars, poets, and scientists. Like most enlightened despots the Caliphs undertook to make their rule glorious by magnificent building projects and the discriminating patronage of genius. To this policy their subjects responded enthusiastically. The Arabs, even during the conquest, had always recognized the superiority of the culture which they encountered in the lands which they overran. In contrast to the Germans, who barbarized the Roman civilization of western Europe, the Moslems exhibited an intellectual adaptability which enabled them to turn with understanding to the philosophy and science of antiquity. Moslems enjoyed a greater intellectual freedom during the Middle Ages than did the Christians. It is true that the most rigidly orthodox theologians frowned upon the study of science and philosophy, but they did not form an organized priesthood dominating the intellectual life of the community, consequently their influ-

ence could not check the scientific investigations which the Caliphs, themselves the religious heads of Islam, encouraged. Free-thinking, often quite infidel in its character, and with it scientific inquiry, flourished under the Abbassid Caliphs. Nor was Islam overburdened with an ascetic ideal which looked with disfavor upon all worldly enjoyment. For the Moslem, salvation did not require mortification of the flesh. On the contrary Mahomet had achieved prosperity for the faithful as well as assurance of blissful eternity. This ideal of enjoyment had developed a love of luxury which, when refined by Persian influences, formed the basis of Saracen civilization. The believer was free to indulge his intellectual and artistic tastes, and to apply himself with enthusiasm to the study of natural science with a view to obtaining practical results. Furthermore the policy of tolerance towards unbelievers gave the Moslems the opportunity to learn from Christian and Jewish scholars whom the Caliphs patronized as readily as they did their own co-religionists. In such conditions there grew up prosperous cities, an active industry and commerce, and a keen intellectual life in which the leaders were usually physicians and astronomers, men who were practical investigators by profession.

It early became the policy of the Abbassid Caliphs to encourage scientific study on the basis of the Greek classics. The Caliph Haroun-ar-Raschid (786-809) ordered the works of Aristotle and of the Greek physicians Hippocrates and Galen translated from the Syriac into Arabic. It is said that on his travels he was always accompanied by a hundred learned men, and he de-

creed that whenever a mosque was built a school should be attached to it. He even appointed a Christian to superintend the schools of the Caliphate. His son Al-Mamun (813-833) sent special commissions to Constantinople and to India to obtain copies of as many scientific works as possible, and at one time he made the surrender of a large number of Greek manuscripts one of the conditions of peace for the Emperor. Of this Caliph a Moslem chronicler relates, "He was not ignorant that they are the elect of God — His best and most useful servants — whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties. — The teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of the world, which, without their aid, would again sink into ignorance and barbarism." Arab-Greek and Arab-Latin dictionaries were compiled to enable the Saracen savants to study the ancient authors in the original and to make their own translations, and works on mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy in great numbers were published in Arabic. At Bagdad was founded "The House of Science," a learned academy manned by a corps of translators and learned men, and equipped with a library and an observatory. Similar foundations, veritable universities with laboratories and libraries of secular and scientific as well as religious books, centers of research and publication as well as instruction, appeared in other parts of the Moslem world also. Since Mahomet had forbidden his followers to translate his revelations into any other tongue than Arabic, the language of the Koran provided Islam with a linguistic bond which made the exchange of books

and ideas throughout the Moslem world easy, and gave a cultural unity to Saracen civilization despite the political disunion. The Omayyad Caliphs in Spain established institutions of learning like those of Bagdad at Cordova and Toledo, and the Fatimites did likewise at Cairo. The versatility and productivity of some of the learned Moslems suggests the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century. One Cordovan scholar is credited with eleven hundred works on metaphysics, history, and medicine. "There are two creatures that are insatiable," said a Moslem proverb, "the man of money and the man of science"; and another saying declared that "the ink of the learned is as precious as the blood of the martyrs."

ARABIC ASTRONOMY

Perhaps the oldest science to which the Saracens devoted themselves was the study of the heavens. The region which formed the nucleus of the Bagdad Caliphate was that in which, during Hellenistic times, Graeco-Babylonian astronomy had been most flourishing. The ancient astronomers and their Saracen successors were primarily astrologers, but it would be a mistake, on that account, to regard them as pseudo-scientists. They assumed that there were natural laws whereby the heavenly bodies influenced human affairs, and they strove by observation of the stars, by careful record of astronomical facts and of the events which followed to discover the working of those laws. Furthermore the Greeks, whose system the Saracens appropriated, in their effort to plumb the depths of astro-

logical lore, had associated the heavenly bodies, on the one hand with the various gods of their pantheon, and on the other hand with everything to do with the life of man, days of the week,² colors, minerals, animals, plants, and drugs. Consequently astrology led to the study, not only of astronomy, but also of mineralogy, zoology, botany, chemistry, and medicine.³

The Abbassid translators had made available the works of Ptolemy on geography and astronomy, (the latter indeed is still known by its Arabic name "Almagest"), and Hindu works on the same subjects were similarly translated. Under the Caliphs' patronage observatories were established in the principal cities. Here were installed scientific instruments, often of great size, made with unusual skill, from some of which modern surveying instruments have been developed.⁴ By studying the Ptolemaic and Hindu theories and record, and making observations of their own, the Saracen astronomers proved again many of the ancient theories and made new discoveries. They constructed astronomical tables showing the orbits of the planets, which the King of Castile imitated in the thirteenth century. They catalogued the stars more thoroughly than Ptolemy had done so that many of the Arabic names for important stars (Aldebaran, Althair, Rigel,

² The names of the days which we still employ originated with the pagan astrologers.

³ The mark still used for medical prescriptions is the astrological symbol for Jupiter.

⁴ The astrolabe and alidade are instruments perfected by the Saracens. Such words as azimuth, zenith, and nadir have come into our language from Saracen astronomy.

Vega) have become established in modern astronomy. By careful observation one Saracen astronomer in the ninth century determined the length of the year more correctly than had been done under Julius Caesar whose calendar prevailed in western Europe until modern times, while a second astronomer in the eleventh century reformed the calendar with even greater exactness than was done under Pope Gregory XIII whose system is now observed by Europeans. The precise prohibitions of the Prophet against any alteration of the calendar prevented the application of these discoveries to practical daily use, and the Moslem world still reckons time according to the lunar year. The angle of the sun's ecliptic and the precession of the equinoxes were determined with considerable accuracy. The phenomenon of the sun's movement among the stars which is the basis for the modern theory that the solar system itself is moving through space, was observed but wrongly interpreted. The third inequality of the moon, the variation, namely that the moon moves most quickly when new or full and slowest in its first and third quarters was discovered by Saracens six hundred years before European astronomers. By astronomical means longitude and latitude were computed; the latitude of Bagdad was established within ten seconds; tables were published showing the longitude and latitude of the chief places in the Moslem world; and the Caliph Al-Mamun sent out two parties of scientists to measure on a level plain in Mesopotamia a degree on the earth's surface, an experiment not attempted in western Europe for a thousand years.

ARABIC MATHEMATICS

For the Saracens, as for the Greeks and Hindus before them, the science of mathematics was auxiliary to astronomy, and most of the great Moslem mathematicians were primarily astronomers. Among the Greeks and Romans, and following them the mediaeval Europeans, the study of mathematics and its practical application was hampered by the character of the symbols, which was such as to make computation a necessarily clumsy process. Letters of the Greek alphabet, conventionalized fingers (I. II. III.), or initial letters (C for "centum," M for "mille") were used. This made arithmetic difficult and calculation with very large numbers practically impossible.⁵ A mechanical device, the abacus, was necessary for figuring with such arbitrary symbols. To the Saracens the western world is indebted for the "Arabic numerals" which they had learned from the Hindus. In the nine digits themselves there is no peculiar virtue. Like the Greek letters they are merely conventional signs which may have been known in western Europe in the early Middle Ages. What makes the Hindu-Arabic numerals so important in the history of science is the addition of the zero⁶ and the application of the principle of position to arithmetic. In the ninth century we find the numerals utilized in the standard Arabic works on mathematics by

⁵ Imagine, for instance, doing complicated problems with the Egyptian symbol for a million, the hieroglyph of a man expressing great astonishment.

⁶ This word, cipher, and the French "chiffre" are all derived from the Arabic word which was probably a corruption of the Hindu word for "void, empty."

means of which they eventually found their way into Europe in the twelfth century.

Among the Europeans of the later Middle Ages arithmetic with the Hindu-Arabic numerals, as distinguished from computation by means of the abacus, was called "algorism." This is a corruption of the name of the most distinguished of the Saracen mathematicians, Al-Khwarizimi, an astronomer of the early ninth century, contemporary with Haroun-ar-Raschid, and an extensive writer on arithmetic, the sun-dial, the astrolabe, chronology, geometry, and algebra. Indeed, in addition to the new numerals, it is from one of his works that not only the fundamentals of that mathematical science but also the very name "algebra" is derived;⁷ and from the same book other permanent mathematical conceptions such as "root" and "power" have been borrowed. His work also serves to illustrate the practical point of view of the Saracens, for Al-Khwarizimi describes his Algebra as a work which seeks to provide the easiest and most useful method of calculation "such as men constantly require in cases of inheritance, legacies, partition, law-suits, and trade, and in all their dealings with one another, or where the measuring of lands, the digging of canals, geometrical computation, and other objects of various sorts and kinds are concerned."

Furthermore in mathematics as in other sciences the

⁷ "Al-gebr we'l mukabala," meaning "restoration and opposition" and referring, the one to the transposition of negative terms to the other side of the equation ($8x - 3y = 13 + 4x$ becoming $8x = 13 + 4x + 3y$), and the other to the discarding of like terms from both sides of the equation ($8x = 13 + 4x + 3y$ becoming $4x = 13 + 3y$).

Arabic translators were the means for transmitting to western Europe the works of the ancients such as Euclid's "Elements of Geometry" and the studies in trigonometry in Ptolemy's "Almagest." The Saracen contribution to the ancient stock of learning in these subjects was not so distinguished as in arithmetic and algebra but it is nevertheless, noteworthy. They applied algebra, an easier method, to propositions where the Greeks had resorted to geometry. They discovered the geometric solution of cubic equations. In trigonometry they made improvement by introducing the sine, borrowed from the Hindus, for the whole chord of Ptolemy. They developed the study of conic sections and calculated a table of tangents, finally succeeding in divorcing trigonometry from astronomy and making it a pure science in itself.

ARABIC CHEMISTRY

In the experimental sciences the Saracens were also proficient, notably in alchemy, another word borrowed by Europeans from the Moslems along with much of the science which it denotes. According to the ancient Greek philosophers all metals are composed, fundamentally, of the same elements. Their differences are merely matters of proportion. Consequently it was assumed that, by resolving metals into their elements and by then recombining those elements in the proper proportions, the scientist could produce in his laboratory whatever metal he desired. This search by the Saracen alchemists for the formula for transmutation

whereby lead and iron could be changed into gold and silver led to extensive experimentation. It was supposed that a substance existed which would not only have the desired effect upon metals but would also completely cure all disease including old age. Needless to say the alchemists never discovered the secret of transmutation, the philosopher's stone, nor the elixir of life, but they did discover many valuable scientific facts which have become the basis for modern chemistry. The Saracen acquaintance with alcohol and alkalis is indicated by the words themselves, and knowledge of sal ammoniac, corrosive sublimate, silver nitrate, and red precipitate resulted from Moslem experimentation. The mixing of "noble" and "base" metals in the search for transmutation taught the alchemists how to make alloys and amalgams, and to determine the specific gravity of some of the important elements.

ARABIC MEDICINE

Besides the observatories and libraries which the government established, the Caliphs also endowed hospitals, which were not only places where the sick received treatment, but were also institutions of learning where the practice of medicine was taught and medical research carried on. In order to determine the most salubrious site for one of these foundations, it is said that the Caliph's chief physician hung pieces of meat in different parts of Bagdad. After some time these were examined and the hospital located at the place where putrefaction had been the slowest. The works of Hip-

pocrates and Galen formed the basis for Arab medicine, particularly for the study of anatomy, for Islam abhorred the dissection of the human body. Anatomical research, however, was conducted with animals. But the Saracens were students of medicine rather than of surgery. They notably increased the pharmacopoeia by their experiments with useful drugs, handing on to Christian Europe a knowledge of senna, aconite, rhubarb, nux vomica, and camphor. In contrast with contemporary Christian physicians, the Saracens regarded disease as a natural phenomenon rather than the expression of the malevolence of devils or of the wrath of God. Their medical works describe diseases and symptoms with careful detail, recount methods of treatment and record the results obtained from them. In this way the Saracens, by observation and experiment, became expert on matters of hygiene and diet as well as in the administration of drugs.⁸ They knew how to use alcohol in treating disease, and even psychology was not neglected, for professional entertainers were attached to the hospitals to cheer the melancholics and to amuse those who suffered from insomnia.

THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE

Among the most precious of the ancient works which the Syrian heretics introduced to the Moslems were the writings of Aristotle. His philosophical and scientific books had been translated into Syriac and extensively

⁸ Our words elixir, syrup, julep, and sherbet have been borrowed from Saracen medicine.

commented upon before the rise of Islam, and their translation into Arabic in the eighth and ninth centuries was merely a part of the Abbassid renaissance of learning. The decline of the old religious fervor of Islam was favorable to the study of Aristotelian philosophy, which is essentially materialistic and logical. But rationalism of this sort very easily led to scepticism and free-thinking of a wholly unorthodox character. The theologians were hostile to philosophical speculation, and the populace, always devout and intellectually conservative, was sometimes excited to violence against the philosophers. But the boldness of the Saracen thinkers, protected, as they usually were, by the Caliphs, caused Aristotelianism to flourish among the Moslems until the twelfth century when Christian Europe was ready to renew the study of the greatest of the ancient thinkers.

For the Saracens, Aristotle was the founder and the perfecter of all scientific knowledge and speculation. Beyond him the human intelligence could not go. They attempted to imitate him by accepting his fundamental doctrines and adopting his method of logical reasoning by means of definition and the syllogism. Like him they essayed to understand all the sciences, to achieve encyclopaedic knowledge, and to develop a complete rational system. Such ambitions, whatever philosophical success they achieved, vigorously stimulated the investigating, sceptical spirit which is the essence of intellectual vitality. Most Moslem philosophers, consequently, were physicians and scientists as well as abstract thinkers. Of these the last and greatest, Averroës

(1126-1198), lived in Spain. His commentary first introduced the whole of Aristotle's writing to Christian Europe. He also serves to illustrate the extent of Moslem free thought, for by the twelfth century the Saracen thinkers had been forced to accept the divorce of science and religion. Aristotle was essentially a rationalist and materialist, and in following him Averroës and others had had to deny the possibility of creation in the orthodox sense, recognizing instead the indestructibility of matter and the principle of evolution. An appreciation of the workings of Natural Law led them to reject the idea of Divine Providence or interference of God in the lives of individuals, while their pantheistic conceptions in regard to the intellect, both universal and particular, were contradictory to the doctrines of the resurrection and the immortality of the soul. No man, according to Averroës, attains to any reward other than his own virtue. But such conclusions were more than even the Moslem community would tolerate. Averroës marks the end of liberal science in Moslem Spain.

TRANSMISSION OF SARACEN CULTURE THROUGH SPAIN AND SICILY

Among the most important consequences of Christian contact with the Moslems was the vast increase in scientific knowledge which came from the translation into Latin of the learned works written by Arabic scholars, and this resulted much more from conditions in Spain and Sicily than from the establishment of the

Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Throughout the early Middle Ages Moorish Spain had been recognized by Christian scholars as a center of learning worth visiting despite the dangers of travel and the difficulties of understanding Arabic. The latter, being a Semitic language, presented a great obstacle to easy translation because of its marked differences from the European tongues. The northern scholar must remain a long time in a foreign land before he could understand both the language and the science well enough to attempt translation. Probably, in Spain, the Jews were utilized as instructors and assistants. We can imagine some English student, after learning the vernacular spoken by the Christian population in Toledo, making friends with some learned Jew who knew Arabic. The latter would translate a scientific or philosophical book into the vernacular and the Christian would then translate it again into Latin. Technical terms, for which no Latin equivalent existed, would merely be transliterated. As this was often a word by word translation, the general form, even after the sentences had been made to conform to the rules of Latin grammar, remained Arabic, which often made the book difficult to understand for the readers beyond the Pyrenees. The laboriousness of this process makes it intelligible why Arabic learning was introduced only slowly into Europe. The success of the Spanish reconquest helped this process. In 1085 Toledo was recovered from the Moors. During the first half of the next century the Archbishop of Toledo, desiring to make Arabic philosophy available for Christians, organized a college of translators to

render into Latin Moslem works on science and philosophy. Thither came Gerard of Cremona "for the love of that which he could not find among the Latins," namely Ptolemy's "Almagest," the most important work of ancient astronomy, and devoted himself to translation; and other adventurous scholars, attracted by the novelties of Arabic science, and wearied by the "law and pretentious ignorance" which dominated northern schools, followed him, eventually to return home laden with valuable books. In the same half century Adelard of Bath, a man who "sought out the causes of all things and the mysteries of nature" was travelling extensively in southern Italy, Sicily, and the Levant in order to learn the wisdom of the Arabs, returning to Europe with manuscripts on astronomy and mathematics which he translated into Latin.

Second only to the schools of Toledo in transmitting eastern learning was the court of the Norman Kings of Sicily at Palermo. These rulers, who had established themselves in the island only a short time before the First Crusade, were tolerant towards the mixed population, Greek, Jewish, and Saracen, of the island, and from the start followed an enlightened policy of adapting themselves to the flourishing civilization which they found there. Their geographical position brought them in touch with the Moslems of North Africa and Spain, while their ambitions to make conquests in the Eastern Empire led to extensive political relations with Constantinople. King Roger II (1130-1154) was an active patron of learning and his successors maintained the cultural tradition throughout the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries. Here flourished a refined court life accustomed to the use of luxuries prevalent in Moslem and Byzantine countries, which served as an example for northern Italy. The use of sugar was common, the growing of cotton and the weaving of silk prevailed, and it seems highly probable that Sicily was the channel through which a knowledge of paper-making reached Europe. In some respects Palermo was more favorably placed than Toledo because it was in direct relations with the Byzantines and could obtain copies of books in the original Greek instead of in Arabic translations, and we know that manuscripts were sent from the imperial court to the Norman Kings. The latter, however, did not neglect to send scholars from their court to Spain to bring back copies of the works studied there. The scientific spirit of Arabic learning seems to have appealed to these practical Normans, who showed great interest in worldly knowledge and the study of nature. It was for Roger II that the Moslem geographer Idrisi, a refugee from Spain and North Africa, made a celestial sphere and a silver map of the known world which so excited the king's interest that he commissioned men to go out from his court to travel and record their observations of foreign countries in order that Idrisi might write a new geography. This he did under the title of "The going out of a Curious Man to explore the Regions of the Globe."

With Roger's grandson, the Emperor Frederick II, a century later, the Sicilian court reached its apogée as a center of culture. Frederick, for political reasons, was a crusader to Jerusalem, but he preferred diplomacy to

possible that the first western knowledge of Aristotle in the original Greek was one of the consequences of the Latin capture of Constantinople in 1204. Manuscripts may well have been part of the booty which found its way to France after the sack of the city, although relics and precious metals were the articles of particular interest to the crusaders on that occasion. At any rate, shortly after this date Latin scholars give evidence of knowing some non-Arabic writings of the great philosopher. The influence of Syria seems to have been largely upon costume and military practice, with possible exceptions in regard to certain plants, and the use of windmills. The growing of beards and the wearing of flowing robes over armor were eastern styles adopted by the crusaders. The terminology of heraldry is drawn in part from Arabic and Byzantine sources, the first use of heraldic devices is in the period between the Second and Third Crusades, and the necessity for coats of arms may well have resulted from the heterogeneous and international character of the crusading armies. It is in military architecture, however, that the influence of Syria upon the West is most apparent. The elaborate defences of such a place as Antioch were novelties to the Latins, the advantages of which they were quick to grasp. Here was a phase of the architectural greatness of the Roman Empire, preserved and developed by the Byzantines, which made a practical appeal to the feudal mind. The conquerors of Syria undertook to insure their hold on the Levant by building concentric castles with towers strategically placed to command all approaches and all parts of the wall,

and crusaders returning to Europe proceeded to imitate these structures when they reached home. Such defences were usually too much for a feudal army to take by assault, and it was not until the introduction of gunpowder that the age of impregnable fortresses inaugurated by the crusades began to come to an end.

CONCLUSION

It is from these contacts with Moslem culture and learning that the disintegration of the mediaeval point of view may be dated. The Europeans learned, in a measure, from what they now knew of the East, to see and appreciate how little the world corresponded to the picture the Church had drawn of it, how, on the other hand, it supplied a multitude of things that were new, beautiful, and good, and the enjoyment of which they refused longer to forego. And, while enjoying these new pleasures, they overcame many of the prejudices fostered by the Church, and arrived at a state of intellectual and moral independence. In learning from the Moslems the West added chiefly to its store of knowledge in the fields of mathematics, medicine, alchemy, and astrology, sciences which are founded upon the principles of exact observation of the physical world, and upon the working of immutable natural laws. Such studies eventually proved incompatible with the prevailing religious notions of an omnipotent Creator miraculously intervening in the actions of Nature according to his whim and in the interests of his worshippers. Indeed the Moslem thinkers regarded religion

merely as something for the uninstructed crowd. Furthermore scientific study concentrates attention upon the physical world rather than upon eternal life, seeking to make mundane life easier and pleasanter, satisfying human curiosity, and encouraging that lust for knowledge which St. Augustine regarded with horror. The greatest contribution from the Moslem to the Christian world was the complete works of Aristotle. The Saracens prized these highly and commented upon them extensively, and bequeathed their enthusiasm to the westerners. This is not the place to discuss the influence of Aristotle upon Scholasticism, but it should be noted that the study of his works and those of his Arab commentators, particularly Averroës, may well be considered the first chapter in the history of modern European Rationalism and the end of the Age of Faith.

Charlemagne (768-814)	935 Saracens pillage Genoa	Haroun-al-Rashid (786-809) Al-Khwarizmi (fl. 820) The Macedonian dynasty (897-1057)
Abd-ar-Rahman III (912-961)	962 Sicilian Moors invade Italy	963-976 the Byzantine Crusade roco conversion of Hungarian king
Almanzor (978-1002)	1004 Saracens sack Pisa	1009 Southern Italy revolts from the Byzantine Empire
	1009	Count of Anjou's first pilgrimage
		1015 first Burgundian expedition into Spain
		1019 end of the Caliphate of Cordova
		Rise of the Almoravides
1062 Yusuf ibn Tashfin founds Morocco	By 1060 the Normans are established in southern Italy	1062 Pisan attack on Palermo
		1062 Pisan attack on Palermo
		1071 battle of Manzikert
		1071-1088 Byzantine civil war
		1076-1085 Turkish conquest of Asia Minor and Syria
		1081 accession of Alexius Comnenus
		1082 grant of commercial privileges to the Venetians
1084 Almoravide conquest of the North African coast	1080-1085 Norman attack on the Byzantine Empire	1092 assassination of the Seljuk Sultan, Turkish civil war
1085 surrender of Toledo	1093 First Crusade launched at the Councils of Piacenza and Clermont	1097-1099 First Crusade in Asia Minor and Syria
Almoravide invasion of Spain	1097 Boemund's crusade against the Byzantine Empire	June 15, 1099 fall of Jerusalem
1086 battle of Zallaqa	Urban II (1088-1099)	Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem (1090-1118)
1114-1115 Catalan-Pisan expedition against the Balearics	1118 Norman attack on North Africa	1144 Norman conquest of the North African coast
	1114	Adelard of Bath (fl. 1130)
1130-1163 the Almohades conquer North Africa	Roger II of Sicily (1130-1154) revival of gold coinage	Roger II (1130-1154)
1147 capture of Lisbon	Second Crusade (1145-1149)	Second Crusade (1145-1149)

Ainohad intervention in Spain

Averroës (1126–1198)	1155 Norman fleet in the Dardanelles
	1157 end of the Caliphate of Cairo
	1172 Byzantine Emperor seizes the Venetian quarter
	1192 massacre of Venetians at Constantinople
	1197 Saladin recaptures Jerusalem
Averroës (1126–1198)	Third Crusade 1189–1192
1195 battle of Alarcos	Fourth Crusade 1202–1204
1197 battle of Las Navas de Tolosa	April 11, 1204 fall of Constantinople
	1200 rise of Jenghis Khan
	1217 crusaders capture and lose Damietta
	1219 Mongol intervention in Persia
Averroës (1126–1198)	1229 Jerusalem surrendered to Frederick II
1195 battle of Alarcos	1231 Mongols ravage Mesopotamia
1212 battle of Las Navas de Tolosa	1244 Mongols ravage Syria and Palestine
	1248 Manelukes defeat a crusade and capture Louis IX
	1252 the first florins
	1258 Hulagu takes Baghdad, end of the Caliphate of Baghdad
	1260 Manelukes defeat the Mongols in Syria
	1261 Greeks recover Constantinople
	1268–1270 Manelukes reconquer all Christian cities in Syria
	1291 fall of Acre
	1312 end of the Templars

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